# VALERIUS FLACCUS
# ARGONAUTICA, BOOK VI
## A COMMENTARY

# MNEMOSYNE

## BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

H. PINKSTER · H.W. PLEKET

C.J. RUIJGH · D.M. SCHENKEVELD · P.H. SCHRIJVERS

BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

C.J. RUIJGH, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, OUDE TURFMARKT 129, AMSTERDAM

SUPPLEMENTUM DUCENTESIMUM QUARTUM

HENRI J.W. WIJSMAN

# VALERIUS FLACCUS
# ARGONAUTICA, BOOK VI

## A COMMENTARY

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · 1683 ·

# VALERIUS FLACCUS ARGONAUTICA, BOOK VI

## A COMMENTARY

BY

HENRI J.W. WIJSMAN

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2000

The publication of this book was made possible through a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research, meeting the costs of correction of the English.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Wijsman, H. J.W. (Henri J.W.)
Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Book VI : a commentary / by Henri J. W. Wijsman.
p. cm. — (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum, ISSN 0169-8958 ; 204)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and indexes.
ISBN 9004117180 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Valerius Flaccus, Gaius, 1st cent. Argonautica. Book 6. 2. Epic poetry, Latin—History and criticism. 3. Argonauts (Greek mythology) in literature. 4. Jason (Greek mythology) in literature. 5. Medea (Greek mythology) in literature. I. Title: Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica. Book six. II. Valerius Flaccus, Gaius, 1st cent. Argonautica. Book 6. III. Title. IV. Series.
PA6791.V5 W56 2000
873'.01—dc21 00-024555
CIP

**Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme**

**[Mnemosyne / Supplementum]**
Mnemosyne : bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill
Früher Schriftenreihe
Teilw. u.d.T.: Mnemosyne / Supplements
Reihe Supplementum zu: Mnemosyne
204. Wijsman, Henri J.W.: Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Book VI, a commentary. – 2000

**Wijsman, Henri J.W.:**
Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Book VI, a commentary / by Henri J. W. Wijsman. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2000
(Mnemosyne : Supplementum ; 204)
ISBN 90–04–11718–0

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 11718 0

*© Copyright 2000 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands*

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.*

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

For Hanno and Selma

CONTENTS

Preface ........ ix

Differences in Text ........ xi

Book VI: Introduction ........ 1
The Author ........ 1
The Text ........ 1
The Theme ........ 2
Summary of Book VI ........ 2
On Structure ........ 4
Composition, Literary Borrowing, Style ........ 5
Similes ........ 11
Sources and *Nachleben* ........ 12

Book VI: Commentary ........ 15

Appendix: Statius and Valerius Flaccus ........ 287
Silius and Valerius Flaccus ........ 288

Bibliography ........ 289

Index of Passages ........ 297
Index of Latin Words ........ 303
Index of Latin Names ........ 306
Index of Subjects ........ 308
Index of Motifs and Themes ........ 309

# PREFACE

The present commentary is a companion to that on book 5, published in 1996.

I have aimed at a sober style of comment, seeking especially to explane the highly individual diction of Valerius Flaccus—which seems to have been so influential on his colleagues Statius and Silius - on the basis of similar phraseology in his predecessors or contemporaries. Valerius Flaccus reads as a reshuffling of the Vergilian idiom, with touches of Homer, Ovid and Lucan. Several of his imitations must be considered with regard to their context; in many other cases the echo is merely verbal. Where I have tried to paraphrase some lines in English it should be considered an Ariadne's thread to lead the reader through the grammatical maze towards sense rather than a full 'translation'.

I had completed the first draft of the commentary when the book by M. Fucecchi *La τειχοσκοπία e l'innamoramento de Medea, Saggio di commento a Valerio Flacco* Argonautiche *6,427-760* appeared. This is an excellent study, and obviously his and my comments overlapped to a great extent from the start. They do so the more now I have tried to improve my commentary by adding most of his astute observations, with due acknowledgement. Here and there we do not agree, and the reader must form his own judgement. We are dealing with poetry and this induces me to give some of my comments a more subjective colouring.

The text, found interspersed in the commentary, is my own. The differences, however, from the latest edition of the *Argonautica* are few and small.

It is a pleasure to record the support of my colleagues in the Institute of the Classics, University of Amsterdam. I owe a special debt to Professors Pinkster and Bremer. In addition I have been kindly allowed to profit from a few observations by Professor A.J. Kleywegt's student, Bob Vaalburg. My greatests debt is to the British scholar Christopher Lowe who again polished the English and in addition gave several pieces of good advice on content.

Amsterdam, December 1998

# DIFFERENCES IN TEXT

My text is based upon the summary of data in Giarratano 1904, inspection of the other editions listed in the bibliography, as well as later additions, notably those of Courtney 1970 and Ehlers 1980. Where possible, the codex **C** is given full weight.

Textual differences from the latest complete text of the *Argonautica* (W.-W. Ehlers, Teubner, Stuttgart 1980):

| | *scripsi* | Ehlers |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | puppem **V+L** | pubem Heinsius |
| 27 | rubor, armaque | rubor armaque |
| 40 | Anguem./ | Anguem / ergo |
| 63 | spatium **V+L** | speciem Shackleton Bailey |
| 67 | Dandaridum Schrader | Gangaridum **V+L** |
| 69 | Sidon **C** | Sydon **V+L** |
| 70 | Phryxus Wijsman | Phrixus **V+L** |
| 74 | Sirenen **C** | Syenen ed. 1481 (Syrenen **V+L**) |
| 80 | Cyris ed.Aldina, 1523 | Ciris **V+L** |
| 128 | miseri **V,L,C** | miri Damsté |
| 129 | Micelae **C** | Micael **V+L** |
| 130 | Cissaeae Schrader | Cessaeae **V+L** |
| 143 | Emoda ed. 1498 | Emeda **V+L** |
| 152 | sonor Sudhaus | honor **L**, onor **V** |
| 165 | clamor volucrum **V,L,C** | volucrum canor Heinsius |
| 186 | egerit **C** | erigit **V+L** |
| 189 | Monaesen Heeren | Monesen **V+L** |
| 208 | graviter iacit **C** | † gleacit † **V+L** |
| 230 | proturbans **C** | profundens **L** (profundis **V**) |
| 247 | liquuntur **C** | tinguuntur P. Wagner (linquuntur **V+L**) |
| 251 | Otrea Carrio | Ocrea **V+L** |
| 300 | quem quaerit nusquam **C** | non usquam ˘˘ videt **V+L** |
| | atque **V,L,C** | utque Burman |
| 301 | peragrat. | peragrat, |
| 302 | circumstrepit Wijsman | circum strepit **V+L** |
| 303 | hunc **V+L** | hinc Burman |
| 305 | inquit genitor **C** | genitor inquit **V+L** |
| 344 | pugnis Watt | † propius † **V+L** |
| 362 | manent Delz | meant **V+L**. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 377 | inque labantis ed. 1503 | in labentis **V+L** |
| 380 | hinc Thilo | hic **V+L** |
| 389 | ab agmine **V+L** | acumine Delz |
| 412 | aequore **V+L** | aequora ed. 1474 |
| 417 | neque cura cavere **C** | † neque in peste revinctos † **V+L** |
| 441 | ad fremitus **C** | adflatus **R** (1468), ed. 1498; (ad fretus **L**) |
| 443 | suus †ignis† **L** | †suus† ignis **L** (igni **C**, ingens ed. 1474, urguens Schenkl) |
| 444 | cuncta sopor | †cuncta sopor † |
| 530 | Armes Gronovius | Armis **V+L** |
| 537 | nec spes **C** | nec bos ed. 1498, nexos **V+L**, |
| 538 | simulacra rapinis **C**, Pius | nocturni simulamina Panis Heinsius (nocturnis simulacra panis **V+L**, simulacraque Panis ed. 1474) |
| 554 | Amastrum **C** | Amastri **V+L** (Amastrin ed. 1498) |
| 571 | praereptus **C** | ereptus **V+L** |
| 572 | Zetenque **C** | Zetemque **V+L** |
| 573 | hunc fugat **C** | hic Maserius, fugit **V+L** |
| 583 | orantesque **V,L,C** | errantesque Sabellicus |
| | sterneret **C** | sisteret **V+L** |
| 599 | redeatque Heinsius | eat atque **V+L** |
| 601 | pugnas. | pugnas, |
| 614 | fame Burman | famem **V+L** |
| 625 | regnis! | regnis, |
| 638 | necat **C** | rotat Balbus fide Burman (notat **V+L**) |
| 638 | Apren **C** | Aprem **V** (a patre **L**) |
| 651 | Monaesis Wijsman | Monesi **V+L+C** |
| 703 | (=74) Sirenem **C** | Syenen **V+L** (74. Syrenen **V+L**) |
| 706 | agit **C** | hiat ed. 1474 (ait **V+L**) |
| 724 | est Kramer | it Sabellicus (et **V+L**) |
| 730 | tua **C** | tum **V+L** |
| 754 | degreditur Vossius | digreditur **V+L** |

# COMPOSITION AND CONTENTS

## The Author

Valerius Flaccus was active under the emperors Vespasian and Titus, of high position in society, of wide erudition, and of some influence upon his fellow poet Statius.

In spite of recent support by Liberman 1997 (XVIII ff.) for the theory that Book 6 was written after AD 89, I still cling to the data discussed by Ehlers 1985, whose conclusion was that the whole *Argonautica* was a product of the seventies of the first century AD (see 256-264 n). Valerius must have felt attracted to the subject of fraternal strife (Pelias/Aeson with Jason as his representative, Aeetes/Perses culminating in Book 6), or as G.B.Conte wrote in 1994 (:490) 'the theme of civil war between brothers, which is characteristic of Flavian imagination and culture'. Apparently in Flavian times war between brothers was a popular subject (witness the *Thebaid).* The civil wars rang in the ear.

Book 6 concentrates upon actual warfare. Its battle-scenes have an Homeric air. Garson already observed (1965:113): 'V has lessened the monotony of the fighting not only by introducing three Medea interludes but also by devoting much of his canvas to scenes of sufficient colour and amplitude to hold the reader's attention'. This in spite of his sighing two pages earlier: 'the sixth book of the *Argonautica* is not one that even the most ardent Valerian will wish to return to very often'. However, even if the same Garson rightly adds (113) 'Vergil...strikes a deeper chord', still I admire VF's treatment of the matter. There is that neat and restrained manner, be it ever so often too brief and truncated, by which VF distinguishes himself from the proto- Roman Catholic exuberance and dualistic fixation on sex, sin and power as found in Statius.

## The Text

The main basis for the text is **V**, the Vaticanus, a ninth-century Ms. Ehlers has convincingly proved that most of the younger medieval Mss. derive from **L**, the Laurentianus (possibly dating back to the sixth century), now only known in the form of Niccoli's autograph collation. (The

reconstituted **S** (from St. Gall) does not contain Book 6.) In 1980 Ehlers published a well-balanced text in the Teubner edition.

The manuscript **C**, basis for the edition of Louis Carrion (1565, 1566), has been rediscovered in France, that is, the last page of it (Ehlers 1991). In my commentary on Book 5 (1996) I gave **C** the benefit of the doubt where possible; I agree with Liberman (LXXXI ff.) that **C** should be given full value.

## The Theme

The *Argonautica* is based upon the epic of Apollonius Rhodius of the same name. Book 6 is an extrapolation of certain lines in ARh where the war with the Sauromatians is mentioned and the willingness of the Argonauts to join the battle: 3.352 f. αἴων ἐμέθεν μέγα δυσμενέοντας / Σαυρομάτας, τους σοῖσιν ὑπὸ σκήπτροισι δαμάσσει, 3.392/5 καὶ δέ τοι ἤδη / προφρονές εἶμεν ἄρηι θοὴν ἀποτῖσαι ἀμοιβὴν / εἴτ' οὖν Σαυρομάτας γε λιλαίεαι, εἴτε τιν' ἄλλων /δῆμον. (See Hunter *ad* 3.351/3 mentioning different traditions concerning Jason's tasks.) The whole war is contrary to good sense, because Jason fights the one person ready to give him the golden fleece of his own free will (cf. the authorial comment *Achivos...quos luserit Aeetes atque in sua traxerit arma*). However, Juno has decided that Jason can acquire the fleece by Medea's help and her purpose is to let him make on her the impression of a hero and cause her to fall in love with him.

## Summary of Book 6

Jason had agreed to fight the enemies of King Aeetes (that is, his brother Perses) so as to obtain the golden fleece. The gods had gone to sleep. Perses sends an embassy to the Argonauts. In the midst of the negotiations, however, Mars intervenes and launches the battle cry. At this point, after an invocation of the Muse, a long catalogue of the Scythian allies of Perses is given in the form of a list of the various chieftains and kings and their nations, several of these with interesting details. The Iazyges, for instance, have their men killed by their own sons when too old for battle. The catalogue is closed by a concentration of several similes. There follows a short list of some of the commanders of the Colchian side and of the gods: Pallas with her aegis, Mars with his retinue.

Now (182) the pitched battle starts, lasting one whole day. Gradually more names of heroes are mentioned, more anecdotes linked to the names. Castor plays an interesting part in capturing a horse, and goes on to achieve other successes; even against the Sarmatian cavalry. Again a series of names follows, which ends with the scene around Oncheus, who is speared to his horse and compared to a bird caught by a fowler's reed. Now Styrus and Anausis, competing for the hand of Medea, meet, and the latter falls.

In 279 Gesander steps forward. A priest looking for his son happens to meet him, and begs for his life, pointing to his white hair. There is no mercy, but scorn; such old dotards should have been killed by their sons! The Argonaut Canthus is the only one to fall in battle, and it is Gesander who accomplishes this, after a long taunt - with many ethnographical traits - based upon that of Numanus in *Aeneid 9.* Around the body of Canthus there occurs an epic fight over his weapons, with an important part for Telamon. Eventually the body is rescued by the queen of the Amazons; her batalions overcome Gesander, who falls like a siege engine crushing a city. Now Ariasmenus sends his sickle-bladed chariots into the fight, but from the moment Pallas shows her aegis to the horses the reins get entangled and the troops perish among their own scythes.

Juno now contrives a new plot (427). She asks Venus for the girdle she will use again in *Iliad 14,* to induce infatuation with Jason in Medea. She assumes the shape of Medea's sister Chalciope and persuades her to come to the battlements, to see the battle and witness the valiant feats of Jason. Medea is led to the walls where she stand like a white lily destined to be scorched by the Scirocco.

By now (507) the carnage is dense; on the Colchian side Absyrtus (son of Aeetes), Aron, the sons of Phryxus, and Calais are singled out and praised by Jason. Details of several minor warriors are mentioned.

Medea still watches the spectacle (575) and has no eyes for any but Jason. Juno presents him favourably and gives him strength and beauty. Huge as a mountain under wintry snow, his path crosses that of Colaxes, son of Jupiter. The father moans, knowing that he cannot interfere with Fate. Colaxes is the last of a series of victims, and Medea is now so involved (657) that she gives the ornament back to her "sister"; Juno can afford to leave her alone. Medea has no eyes for the ambassador Myraces who falls in all his oriental finery, nor for any of the other Argonauts. The rout seems total.

Perses complains to the gods (725), not knowing that next day the Argonauts will disappear with the fleece and with Medea, and that the final victory will be his. He considers suicide, but Pallas lifts him into the air and saves him. Medea returns home when twilight comes, her eyes picking out Jason till the last moment.

## On Structure

The scheme used to bring structure into the story is hidden by the inclusion of the long catalogue. This is best regarded as a "Fremdkörper". There is a remarkable symmetry in the book if this catalogue is ignored; then the first part of the book is 32 lines long, the last part 36 (725-760). The central section (C) of 50 lines is flanked by 182-426=245 lines and 477-724 =238 lines.

This looks like: 35 -(...)- 245 - 49 - 245 - 35, in which case it could be interpreted as 7×5 - 7×7×5 - 7×7 - 7×7×5 - 7×5.

Since in Book 5 vestiges of a numerical order were discovered (Wijsman, 4-6), it may well be that VF composed along these lines.

This would result in the following scheme:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1-32 | introduction | | |
| A' | 33-181 | 1. | 33-41 | invocation |
| | | 2. | 42-170 | catalogue |
| | | 3. | 171-181 | gods involved |
| B | 182-426 | 1. | 182-202 | general |
| | | 2. | 203-264 | Castor |
| | | 3. | 265-278 | Styrus and Anausis |
| | | 4. | 279-385 | Gesander |
| | | 5. | 386-426 | Ariasmenus |
| C | 427-476 | Juno, Venus | | |
| D | 477-724 | 1. | 477-506 | Juno, Medea |
| | | 2. | 507-574 | various hostilities |
| | | 3. | 575-601 | Juno, Medea |
| | | 4. | 602-656 | Jason |
| | | 5. | 657-680 | Juno, Medea |
| | | 6. | 681-724 | Jason, Medea |
| E | 725-760 | Perses, Medea. | | |
| | | 1. | 725-751 | Perses |
| | | 2. | 752-760 | night falls |

In the scheme as outlined above the number seven seems to be important in the composition. That the number seven plays a rôle is in any case seen in small sections such as B.1.a,b.c (7+7+7), B.3 and B.4.a (14 lines each).

Once the scheme is accepted, it follows that the central section of the book is Juno's deputation to Venus. The line in the middle of this section is 450 *Iuno duci sociam coniungere quaerit Achivo*, and this could well be the theme of the book. On the importance of the central line of a section see Wijsman (4 n.1).

Aberrations from the scheme could be explained by gaps in the transmission of the text or by incompleteness of the work, but it can also be that the scheme was only a basis, to be clothed in phrases fairly freely with an occasional aberration from the scheme so that it should not be a burden. The concept of numerical allusion has been discussed in Liberman XLVI, implying that not only the words in certain lines may refer to model texts, but also the numbers of the lines may correspond. Liberman gives various instances. An example is 5.558/6.558 *Riphea* (where the spelling is arbitrary). This would imply that already in Antiquity these line numbers corresponded and that either no lacunae at all have occurred in the transmission of the text, or that quite fortuitously they were of the same size.

## Composition, Literary Borrowing, Style

The aim of this book is to investigate the balance between original needs and traditional means in the epic of Valerius Flaccus (Book 6). The peculiar diction of silver Latin poetry, always on the verge of *obscuritas* and apparently new, is based upon a recombination of strands from the sources, mainly Vergil. After lexicon, combinations, phrasing, and presentation of scenes have been traced to their origins, the authenticity of the author's own contribution becomes visible. VF seems to delight in using traditional themes in language that avoids the rustic drawn-out phrase; 'Valerius Flaccus' brevity goes with novelty of phrase' (G.Williams 227).

In the opening of the book lines 6-26, where Mars takes the initiative and rouses the forces, are evidently based upon Verg. *A.* 8.1-17, where Turnus does the same. A list of verbal correspondences can be found in the commentary, but nearly all of these have been reshuffled. Interestingly Statius has been inspired by VF (Stat. *Theb.* 7.83

*Mars impellit equos*, based upon *Gradivus impulit hinc currus).* In the same way in the Gesander passage (279-385) several lexical similarities are derived from Vergil's story about Mezentius; these, however, concern simple words that individually would go unnoticed as allusions. Only in combination do they show up as based upon a model.

In the same passage *monstrum belli* refers to Hom. *Il.* 11.4 (see 6 n.), not emulated in other known Latin poetry. Other direct influence of Homer appears in line 118, where *centumgeminus* for ἑκατόμπυλος does not as far as we know have a Latin model. Having a short list of adversaries following the main catalogue may be copying Hom. *Il.* 2.816 ff. Together with the similes of the groaning earth and Jupiter flogging Typhoeus, as well as the use of *illi* (182, see n.) this argues for a strong orientation upon Homer. On the other hand the structure of the battle description has passed through a process of evolution. Homer's way of introducing a warrior by telling an anecdote about him and then having him attack one of the major heroes, normally to meet his end there and then, had already been replaced by Vergil, who presents the various combatants seemingly at random, one with more attention to detail, the other with less, often apparently invented just to introduce an opponent. VF follows the Vergilian pattern.

The influence of Homer may be seen directly in certain instances, although making use of Vergilian idiom in others. Vergil *A.* 9.528 *et mecum ingentis oras evolvite belli*, and Enn. *Ann.* S164=V174 *quis potis ingentis oras evolvere belli* followed Homer Il. 20.328 ἐπ' ἐσχατιὴν πολυάικος πολέμοιο. In view of the context VF 6.749 (Pallas removing Perses from danger) is modelled upon Homer; Stat. *Theb.* 7.814 *extremas...in oras* follows VF according to Smolenaars XLII.

Hom. *Il.*13.567 f. ( βάλε δουρὶ / αἰδοίων τε μεσηγὺ καὶ ὀμφαλοῦ) has been the model for Verg. *A.* 10.778 *Antoren latus inter et ilia figit* as well as for a line from the Camilla episode ( *Aen.* 11.692 *loricam galeamque inter*), the subtext of the story of Tages (see 225-227 n. and 239 n.). In VF 6.243 *latus inter et ilia* we find that the thematic inspiration comes from Homer, but the actual words from Vergil. Similarly, Hom. *Il.* 16.765 ff. is the subtext of 353 ff., where , however, many words are derived from Vergil *A.* 10.356 ff. (see 353 n.). Obviously multiple imitation has been predominant.

In Ov. *Met.* 4.485 *Pavor* and *Terror* linger around Tisiphone. In Stat. *Theb.* 3.424 f. *Furor, Ira* and *Pavor* are the retinue of Mars, while *Fama* flies ahead; Statius has taken over from Homer the figure of Eris (*Il.* 4.443), used as the model for *Fama* in the *Aeneid*, but instead of Eris

calls her Fama, while VF (178 ff.) has given her the name of Tisiphone and the description of *Fama*. Statius has followed VF's lead and accepted the consequence by accordingly giving her also the name of *Fama*. In 179 *Tisiphoneque caput per nubila tollens* the concept of Ovid and the wording of Vergil have moulded the Homeric basis.

A host of words and combinations can be derived from Vergil. However, VF may wish to give a slight twist to his model. He wants to speak of mild breezes and finds models in Verg. *G.* 3.198 *lenibus* ('rippling') *horrescunt flabris* and *A.* 3.70 *lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum.* If he wishes to combine these into one phrase and avoid repetition he will have to alter the second *lenis*, for which he chooses *levis* and writes (6.665) *lenibus adludit flabris levis Auster.*

Another example of a slight twist is 6.320 *nec longa dies (sc. tibi fuisset)*, 'the time would not be far away' (*longa* used predicatively). His model is Verg. *Aen.* 5.783 *quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla*, where, however, the sense is 'no lapse of time, however long, will mitigate this'. The suggestion is that VF has the text of Vergil in his mind, and is only too glad not to follow him too slavishly. In 6.171 *patriis...in armis* the word *patrius* is rather derived from *pater* than from *patria* as it is in Verg. *A.* 3.595 *patriis ad Troiam missus in armis* (Achaemenides), *G.* 3.346 *patriis acer Romanus in armis.*

However, is may also happen that in imitating a scene VF follows the model too closely. In 485 the *caelestia arma* are no longer those of Aeneas, made by a heavenly god, but Jason's; *caelestia* is here used only as a literary ornament.

The Gesander passage is based upon the Mezentius episode in Verg. *A.* 10. The correspondences are found in many words of minor importance occurring more or less in the same order in model and subtext. However, words spoken *to* Mezentius in the model may be put in the mouth of his shadow, Gesander; or the words used when Mezentius is looked for are applied to a figure doomed to meet Gesander while looking for his son. For instance, 6.332 *nec longum victor potiere rapina* is modelled upon Verg. *A.* 10.739 *nec longum laetabere* (dying Orodes to Mezentius). Here it is the figure of Gesander/Mezentius who speaks words spoken *to* Mezentius in the model. Another example is that of Aquites who has gone through the ranks, protected by the sanctity of his position (299 *impune*), looking for Cyrnus, *globos diversaque lustrans agmina*; cf. Aeneas looking for Mezentius in *A.* 10.769 *Aeneas speculatus in agmine longo* (while *globos* corresponds to *A.* 10.373 *globus ille virum*). So here the man who is certainly *not* looking for the barbarian is described

in words that depicted Aeneas doing so. The word *canitiem* (306), referring to the hair of Gesander's father, may be inspired by Verg. *A.* 10.844, where it refers to the grey hair of Mezentius himself.

Let it be added finally that nearer the end of Book 6, after he has slain Colaxes (655), Jason is described as approaching him in the words *advolat Aesonides mortemque cadentis acerbat.* In *A.* 10.897 f. *ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa/ effera vis animi?* a fallen enemy is addressed in the same way, but there it is Aeneas addressing Mezentius. That *acer* suggested *acerbat* is supported by the beginning of line 655 just quoted, since the preceding line in the *Aeneid* (10.896) begins *advolat Aeneas.*

In Book 6 of the *Argonautica* references to Verg. *Aeneid 10* predominate, as already noticed by Smolenaars. Both books deal with a pitched battle; in addition the Gesander figure is based upon Mezentius. VF may create variation by borrowing from the same line now the one word, now the other. In 545 *in medio duri discrimine belli* as well as in 576 *magni lustrat certamina belli* VF is copying Verg. *A.* 10.146 f. *illi inter sese duri certamina belli/ contulerant.* Line 576 follows only 30 lines after 545, but tedious repetition is avoided.

Contamination of more than one subtext may occur. It is as if VF recombined Vergilian (*A.* 4.2) *caeco...igni* and (*Ecl.* 8.47) *saevus amor* into *caecus amor saevusque...ignis* (454).

Influence of Ovid is limited; some combinations seem directly borrowed (*e.g.*, 115 *tertia aetas*, cf. *Met.* 12.188 *tertia...aetas* (cf. Verg. *A.* 1.265 *tertia...aestas)*, 128 *ambo miseri*= *Met.* 4.692 (cf. Verg. *A.* 9.446 *fortunati ambo)*, 399 *dira lues*, cf. *Met.* 15.626 (not in Vergil), 460 *in manibus spes nostra tuis*, cf. *Met.* 7.335 *in manibus vestris vita est*, 555 *sanguinis ille globos*= *Met.* 12.238 f.). Some scenes seem stamped by Ovid: Mars making a stop in the air in 7 (cf. *Met.* 14.821 f.) or the lilies simile; see 492 n. I even suppose that the *fuscae alae* of *Notus* in 494 (followed themselves by Sil. 12.617 *hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc fuscis Africus alis/ bella movent*) are inspired by Ovid (*Met.* 6.707 Boreas with *fulvis alis*) after VF read about the brown pollen of the lilies in Ov. *Met.* 10.190 f. *si quis...in horto/ liliaque infringat fulvis horrentia linguis.*

495 f. *hanc residens altis Hecate lucis flebat* has traits of Venus seeing Pluto approaching in Ov. *Met.* 5.363 f. *videt hunc Erycina vagantem/ monte suo residens*, although the reaction is totally different. The next line, 365 (*mea, nate, potentia*, Venus speaking), was probably the model for VF 6.475 f. *omne ait imperium, natorumque arma meorum cuncta dedi* (Venus) so that this may be a case where the context echoes further, the one line being a plausible model, the other just borrowing words.

It is interesting to find that names such as Tages (223) or Helix are possibly derived from Ovid. Occasionally other works of Ovid are quoted or alluded to: from the *Fasti* come some combinations (2.429 *dura sorte/* 624 *durae sorti*, 3.65 *animos pater auget/* 279 *animos auget Mavors*) and in addition references to the Anna scene (see below), with *Fast.* 3.631 *Libyca...in ora*; cf. VF 6.411 f. *Libyco...litore.* Very occasionally another of Ovid's books is referred to (*e.g.*, *Tr.* 4.10.77 *etiam complerat genitor sua fata*; cf. 621 *complerat sua fata Colaxes*).

An example of Lucan's influence is the simile of the scythe-bearing chariots destroying their own side applied to the Romans' self-destructiveness in civil war (6.402-409). Here *in sua versi/ funera* (409), *regesque* (403), *quorum agmina pilis, quorum aquilis utrimque micant* (403 f.), *eademque parentes/ rura colunt* (404 f.) correspond to Luc. 1.3 *(populum) in sua...conversum viscera*, 1.4 *rupta foedera regni* (=the triumvirate), *infestisque obvia signis/ signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*, Luc. 4.563 *fratribus incurrunt fratres natusque parenti.* Influence of Lucan is also found in the choice of certain combinations; 38 ff. *aeterno Marte...Alanos* is for instance based upon Luc. 8.223 *duros aeterni Martis Alanos.*

The simile just discussed is followed by another one about cast-aways (410 ff.) scorched by *Notus* and reaching the 'Laurentian coasts, or, for that matter, the Libyan'. Here the situation is complex. It is true that in Lucan 1.498 ff. a ship is driven by the Auster upon the Libyan coast and is broken into pieces, but the Libyan location is the only point in common. The main source is Vergilian. The adjective *Laurens* visualises the scene by locating it in Italy, because *Laurentum* is situated on the Latian coast. In Verg. *A.* 6.333-336 shipmates wrecked at the Libyan coast are mentioned just before Aeneas meets with Palinurus in the Underworld. Palinurus tells the sad story of a cast-away in 6.337 ff., with in 6.355 f. *tris Notus...vexit me*, after which he found himself upon the Italian coast, to be killed there on the beach. These victims of *Notus* the reader is supposed to supply subconsciously. The present combination of Italy and Africa seems derived from that passage, the more so in view of the verbal resemblance in *A.* 6.336 *obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque*, corresponding to 412 *fractas involvunt aequore puppes.*

The word *Laurens* is used in Verg. *A.* 5.796 (Venus speaking to Neptune) *quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas/ vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim.* Shortly after this Aeneas in fact reaches the Tiber, but Misenus, who is found on the beach in *A.* 6.163, does not, nor does Palinurus, lost in the lines following 5.796. However, yet another sub-

text may have played a minor rôle, Ov. *Fast.* 3.599 f. *ducitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus/ puppis et expositis omnibus hausta perit* about the Carthaginian princess Anna coming from Libya and landing in Italy. In Sil. 8.65 ff. she is again shipwrecked *in Laurentes oras* (*Sidonis in Latia trepidabat naufraga terra*); Silius may have introduced Anna under the guidance of VF, working out how VF understood the Anna story. In VF's short phrase knowledge of a long literary history is postulated.

Stylistic standard effects like alliteration abound. The special type of alliteration in the sense of Ceccarelli, more frequent in Book 5, is virtually absent. For this as well as for the occurrence of golden lines see the index.

VF seems to like peculiar and abstruse sayings. Of the latter type instances are 90 f. *ferrata dorso forma suum*, 141 *veterum tenor* <*vitae*>, 160 ff. *aequantes cornibus alas*, in a phrase with the extremely rare words *mutator* and *frenator*, 213 *caeso comitem me reddite fratri*, 237 *docilis relegi docilisque relinqui*, 260 *implorat ramos*, 383 *ut machina muri*, 614 *mutat cruores*, 662 *audet atrox*, 738 *galeam singultibus implet.*

Original and unexpected, not to say sometimes queer, are, *e.g.*, 25 *nec quos oderis*, 62 f. *dat longior aetas iam speciem*, 97f. *quos crudi mora corticis armat*, 125 *mos ductus avis*, 188 *mixtae virum cum pulvere vitae*, 194 (cf. 214) *cadit hasta*, 199 *cassidis ima*, 244 *descendit in hastam*, 250 *nec fragmina curat*, 331 *mecum omnis amor*, 428 (cf. 631) *funera miscebant*, 500 *magna fugae monumenta dabis*, 509 *duplices*, 569 f. *hastae immoritur*, 649 *dextrae gestamen. praetentans* (75), *memoratrix* (142), *ovatus* (187, all three only here) and *aes* for 'sword' (198) are remarkable.

Various instances of ring composition present themselves. Perses is the central figure in the beginning of the book, with nocturnal negotiations before Mars shakes his lance. But the book also closes with Perses (725-751). Next, in 694 a *subiti Mavortis amor* has brought Myraces to take part in the battle; he is the last to be mentioned before the Perses episode closes this book, dedicated as a whole to *Mavortis amor.* In 156, at the end of the catalogue, just *before* the battle started *Martis amor* brought Coastes to Aea; see further 694 n.

Adamietz 82 rightly observed that the whole catalogue of both parties is framed by Mars in 28-30 as well as by Mars in 178-181.

In the Ariasmenus episode ( 386-426 ) the king who went *rapturus Colchos* in 389 is eventually himself *raptus rotis* (425).

## Similes

Gärtner counted 23 similes and comparisons, one of which complex, which is why I count 26.

These similes are based upon various models, found in *Iliad*, ARh's *Argonautica*, *Aeneid (A.)*, *Pharsalia.* Whether other poets have made a significant contribution is not certain, even if they treated the same subject.

| | similes in Arg. VI | | similar motif |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 112.f. dogs | = dogs of Hell | ARh 3.1216 f. |
| 2 | 163f.Scythians | = waves | *A.* 7.718, *Il.* 11.307 |
| 3 | noise | = winds | *Il.* 11.307, 16.765 ff.? |
| 4 | | = clamor volucrum | *Il.* 2.459, 3.1 ff., ARh 4.236 ff., *A.* 6.309 ff., 7.699 ff., 11.454 ff. 10.265 f. |
| 5 | number | = leaves and flowers | ARh 4.214 ff., *Il.* 2.468, 2.800, Sen. *Oed.* 600 ff., *A.* 6.309 ff., Ov. *Met.* 11.614 f. |
| 6 | 167f. gemit ager | =Jupiter Phlegra | *Il.* 2.781 f. |
| 7 | 260f. Oncheus | = auceps | Verg. *G.* 4.511 f., Prop. 4.2.33 f., Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.458, Ov. *Met.* 11.73, 15.474 |
| 8 | 346f. Telamon | = lion+cubs | *Il.* 17.133, 5.297 ff. VF 6.148, *A.* 9.551 |
| 9 | 353f. warriors | = winds | *Il.* 16.765, *A.* 2.416, 10.356 ff. Luc. 5.597ff. |
| 10 | 358f. corpse | = bull's hide | *Il.* 17.389-401. |
| 11 | 383f. Gesander | = mountain side | *Il.* 16.384 ff., 13.137 ff. Luc. 3.470 ff. |
| 12 | id. | = machina muri | *A.* 4.88 |
| 13 | 390f. Ariasmenus | = diluvium | *Il* 16.384 393, Luc. 5.620 ff. |
| 14 | 402f. chariots | = civil war | |
| 15 | 410f. chariots | = naufragium | Luc. 1.498 ff., *A.* 5.797, 5.869, 6.163, 6.333-371, Ov. *Fast.* 3.599 f. |
| 16 | 420f. chariots | = deer | *A.*12.749 ff. |
| 17 | 492f. Medea | = lilium | Ov. *Met.* 10.190 f. |
| 18 | 505f. Medea | = birds | Luc. 1.259 f., Verg. *G.* 4.473 f., *A.* 2.516 |
| 19 | 527 Aron | = Lucifer | *A.* 8.589 ff. |
| 20 | 607 helm | = Sirius | *Il.* 5.4 ff., 22.26. f., 19.381 f., VF 5.369 ff., *A.* 10.270 ff. |
| 21 | 611 Jason | = Caucasus | *A.* 12.701 Hom. *Il.* 13.754 |
| 22 | 613 Jason | = lion | *Il.* 24.41 f. *Od.* 22.402, 23.48, *A.* 9.339 ff. *A.* 10. 723 ff., Sen. *Thy.* 732 ff. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | 632 Colaxes | = rain, torrent | *A.* 12.684 ff., *Il.* 13.136 ff.; *Il.* 5.87 ff., 11.492 ff. 16.384 ff., *A.* 2.304 ff., Lucr. 1.281. |
| 24 | 664 Medea | = coming wind | ARh 2.1098 ff., *A.* 7.528 |
| 25 | 711 Myraces | = olive | *Il.* 17.53-60,. |
| 26 | 755 Medea | = maenad | ARh 1.636, *Il.* 22.460 ff., Ov. *Met.* 7.257 f., Sen. *Med.* 382 ff., *A.* 7.373-405, Ov. *Medea.* fr.2 |

Several times the material for the images can be found elsewhere, but it is VF who made a simile out of it. Original are the dogs of Hell and Hecate 112 f. (even if real subterranean dogs around Hecate have been described by ARh 3.1216 f.), the siege engine 383 f. (with a little situational description from Verg. 4.88 f.), the chariots meeting as in civil war under the high auspices of Tisiphone, which have no model (402 f). Further the same chariots entangled like fighting stags (420 f.) found by an Umbrian dog, even if there is influence of Verg. A. 12.749 ff. where Aeneas is compared to an Umbrian hunting dog relentlessly following a deer. The description of Oncheus being caught as a bird by a fowler (260 f.) is as such authentic, even if fowlers are frequently mentioned in poetry (Verg. *G.* 4.511 f., Prop. 4.2.33 f., Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.458, Ov. *Met.* 11.73, 15.474).

## Sources and *Nachleben*

The influence of Apollonius Rhodius is meagre, for obvious reasons since ARh is for once not the source for the story of Book 6. Most of the fighting scenes have been composed by VF himself, that is, derived from Homer and Vergil, with some influence of Ovid and Lucan as well; Seneca has not made a contribution. There has been active imitation of VF by Statius and Silius. The former recognized the Vergilian Mezentius as the model for Gesander (279-386), something discovered by none of the later commentators. Accordingly he gave to his Capaneus, corresponding overall to Mezentius, some traits of Gesander (see 322 n.). See Smolenaars for a list of correspondences between *Thebaid 7* and *Argonautica 6.*

Sources for the content rather than for literary form (for which see above) are Pliny and Mela.

Pliny describes water that drives people mad (67), posthumous honours for dogs (107) and a tigress bereft of her young standing on the bank of a river (148). Words in common are *degeneres* used ethno-

graphically (86), the name *Latris* (121), *monstrificus* (153).

The stoic attitude of the Iazyges (123 ff.) is according to Harmand 44 derived from Mela's story about the Hyperborean tribes that, once too old, voluntarily throw themselves from a rock (Mela 3.37).

For the influence of Mela upon the present passages note the mention in Mela 3.43 of the Hyrcanian tiger (cf. VF 6.147 ff.). Heeren supposes that VF transfers to the Arimaspians (131) the habits of the Satarchae (Mela 2.10 *auri ignari*); in general it is said of the Scythians (Just. 2.2.7) *aurum et argentum perinde aspernantur.* Harmand refers to Mela 1.114, where people living between Bosphorus and Tanais use the lasso (see 132), among these the Ixamatae (144). As to the noise of the tambourines in VF 134 Harmand 45 postulates a link with Mela 3.96 where Aethiopians make noise with cymbals and tambourines. Compare also 68 n.

Valerius Flaccus has been a source of inspiration to only a very few fellow poets. Verbal resemblances to Statius are mentioned in several notes and listed in the appendix; in most of these instances Smolenaars had already decided that VF was the model for Statius. *Theb.7* is predominant amongst these; see Smolenaars p. XXXVII ff. On the close interrelationship between Verg. *A.10*, *Theb.7*, and *Arg.6* see Smolenaars, appendix. The scene of the faithless horse in 214 ff. is the model for that of Pterelas in *Theb.* 7.632 *sonipes male fidus*; the fate of the same Pterelas is modelled upon that of Oncheus (Smolenaars 1996). See 386-426 n. on the priority of VF in the scenes dealing with the theme of frightened horses (as in *Theb.* 6.491).

In Silius are found mainly verbal echo's, as mentioned in 146, 345, 494, 563, 573 nn. See the list in the appendix.

For influence upon Sedulius see 752 n. (For quotations after Silius in general see Wijsman[1]).

Let me end by agreeing with the verdict of Conte 1994:491: "VF's subtle and elegant epic deserves more readers than it has ever found."

---

[1] Summers 13 mentions Commodianus, Nemesianus, Claudian, Marius Victor and Dracontius as authors showing occasional traits of influence by VF, but all so scanty as to be hardly significant. Manitius adds, with some more convincing quotations, Prudentius, Iuvencus, Terentianus Maurus. Quantitatively these are hardly worth mentioning.

# COMMENTARY

## A. 1-32: Beginning of Hostilities.

The opening scene of Book 6 begins with a reminiscence of Zeus in Homer, *Il.* 2.1 ff., who after the banquet of the gods (alluded to in the last lines of the former book) is the one god not able to sleep: Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος. Here Mars cannot sleep because in helping Aeetes he cannot help supporting the Argonauts as well, while he is in any case reluctant to aid Perses since he knows that Perses is willing to give the Fleece to the Greeks. In being instrumental in destroying the chances of peace Mars plays the rôle of Jupiter, Mercury, and Mars in Stat. *Theb.* 7.1-89 or Juno and Allecto shattering the proposed treaty with Latinus in Verg. *A.* 7.286-322. Adamietz 82 notes several verbal resemblances between lines 6-26 and Verg. *A.* 8.1-17, where Turnus is rousing similarly the Latin force (detailed as follows):

| | VF *Arg.* 6. | | Verg. *A.* 8. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | impulit...currus | 3 | utque impulit arma |
| 6 | monstrum belli | 1 | belli signum |
| 7 | concutiens | 3 | concussit equos |
| 9 | turbati | 4 | turbati animi |
| 9 | duces | 6 | ductores primi |
| 11 | advenisse (Achivos) | 11 | advectum Aenean |
| 12 | iuncta...dextra | 13 | viro se adiungere gentis |
| 16 | edocet | 13 | edoceat |
| 20 | exordia belli | 15 | his coeptis |
| 2,21 | sequa(n)tur | 15 | sequatur (in a different context) |
| 28 | strepuere tubae | 2 | strepuerunt cornua |
| 30 | simul | 4 | simul |

Vergil has achieved an effect with the contrast between *extulit* (2) and *impulit* (3); the emulator may have used *excita* (8) to contrast with *impulit* (6), but it is weaker without the *-ulit* homoioteleuton.

The embassy to Diomedes has a counterpart in the deputation to Perses, the questions *quid, quem* in *quinam, quin, quid, quos*, and the arrival of the ships of Aeneas (for the kingship) in the rumour that the Greeks have come in a sacred ship for the fleece. Perses will react in the last section of the book (725-760), closing the ring.

The scene of Mars rousing the Scythians to war has much in common with the opening of Book 3 (19-94): 32 *nox erat* .... There King

Cyzicus has to be punished by the gods and is attacked by the Argonauts before they realize who it is. There Pan sows the panic that Mars does here. For the resemblance of the scenes see in particular 28 nn. (see also Schenk[1], who gives much emphasis to the resemblance and tends to obliterate the differences).

*

1. at vigil isdem ardet furiis Gradivus et acri
2. corde tumet nec quas acies, quae castra sequatur
3. invenit. ire placet tandem praesensque tueri,
4. sternere si Minyas magnoque rependere luctu
5. pacta queat Graiamque absumere puppem.

**1** 'The grim sixth book opens harshly with ... ample use ... of alliteration ... with -r' (Garson 1970:186).

**at** as the start of a new book also in Verg. *A.4*, Ov. *Met.4* (with Bömer *ad* 4.1), Luc. *Phars.9*, Stat. *Theb.3*, VF *Arg.8*. The nocturnal vigil can be compared with that of Jupiter opening Hom. *Il.2*, Agamemnon's (Hom. *Il.* 10.5-10) and Jason's (VF 5.297 *tristior at* ff. with Wijsman). Servius *ad* Verg. *A.* 4.1 already pointed to the contrast with the quiet end of the preceding book, describing a night, followed by a new focus upon one person not sleeping: Sleep (5.695) did not overcome Mars. Pease *ad* Verg. *A.* 4.1 cited the books of Homer starting with αὐτάρ: *Il.* 3, 9 ὣς οἱ μέν ....· αὐτάρ, 15, 22,3 (22.1 ὣς ), *Od.* 6.2 ὣς ... αὐτάρ, 19, 20, 22.

**vigil isdem ardet furiis Gradivus** forms a partial golden line. Other instances are 99, 120, 193, 215, 302, 316, 349, 376, 576, 667, 698, 702. Of these only 120, 193, 302, 349, 702 consist of not more than five words. On the frequency and distribution of golden lines see Wijsman *ad* 5.79. *vigil* as an epithet for Gradivus here shows less inspiration than its use with *Fama* in Stat. *Theb.* 3.425 f. *at vigil omni/ Fama sono*, or Luc. 8.161 *vigiles Pompei pectore curae.* We can, however, compare its use for Hannibal in Sil. 1.246 *noctemque vigil ducebat in armis*, 12.559 *(Poenus) vigil ipse*; it describes the situation.

**isdem ardet furiis** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.511 f. *furiisque refecti/ ardebant*, Sil. 17.236 *talibus ardentem furiis*, or Verg. *A.* 8.219 *furiis exarserat.* The *furiae* correspond to the *furores* of 5.676 and are the same as in Mars' argument with Pallas, 5.624 ff., culminating in 5.634.

---

[1] P.Schenk, *Cyzicus, Perses und das eingreifen der Götter, in* Ratis omnia vincet, ed. M.Korn, H.J. Tschiedel, *Spudasmata* 48 (1991).

**Gradivus** cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.122.

**acri (corde)** the combination not very common: Lucr. 3.294, Pl. *Bac.* 405. Compare also VF 3.133 f. *acri pectore.*

2 **tumet** swelling with wrath; cf. 5.653 f. *iste ... tumor* (said of Mars), Verg. *A.* 6.407 *tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.*

**quas acies, quae castra sequatur** in doubt, although in 5.634 Mars seemed determined to fight the Minyans, if *sequatur* has the same straightforward sense as in 21. But a *god* would not simply follow the standard. The emphasis may be on *acies*, and *castra*, as if Mars were worrying about tactics: 'he finds no answer to the question of what battle line, and what type of camp he shall send forward'.

3 **placet** with an infinitive (K/S 1.669); cf. *A.* 11.332 *(oratores) ire placet*, VF 2.403, 7.344. Compare *placet ire* again in 15.

**praesens** nominative *ad sententiam*, as if (Langen) following something like *constituit.*

**tueri** from **C** (vet.cod.), for *videri* V + L. Summers 38 defended the latter version by pointing to Ov. *Met.* 14.727 *adero praesensque videbor.* Langen, however, referred to VF 7.503 where Heinsius conjectured *tuentem* for *videntem.* The alternatives seem to be *praesensque videri, sternere si ... queat* = 'to appear in person, if perchance he can ...' or *praesensque tueri sternere si ... queat* = 'to see in person whether he can ...'. *videri* was printed in recent times only by Bury and Mozley. An easier emendation, too flat, to *videre* was made by Baehrens.

4 **sternere** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.311 *stravitque Latinos*, Liv. 23.42.12 *acies Romanas fusas stratasque.*

**Minyas** information on *Minyae* in Wijsman *ad* VF 5.28, Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 6.720, Korn *ad* VF 4.6-7a.

**rependere** repay, a service or an injury, as in *Oct.* 96 *tantum munus morte rependat.* The *lex talionis* (Gell. 20.1.14) is in full vigour, and requital a ruthless matter: see 744. In 549 the verb rather stands for giving satisfactory compensation, in 560 for balancing fairly.

5 **regis** a bisyllabic word in the first spondee of the line is exceptional; in book 6 in 5, 14, 96, 141, 160, 181, 214, 260, 376, 415, 434, 453, 467, 505, 559, 652, 711. Norden Anhang VIII considers the possibility that the isolation of the relevant word is lessened by a following coordinator, or that together with the following word it forms a closely

linked sequence. Alternatively the word itself may be a preposition or conjunction, or pronoun, or, specifically, the word may carry a strong emphasis. Here we may assume that *regis pacta* is felt as one concept, with focus. In 14 the conjunction *ergo* is summarizing the foregoing; as such a slight pause after *ergo* would be appropriate. See further *ad* 415. — *regis pacta* refers to the pact between Aeetes and Jason to fight first, to receive the fleece later.

**absumere** can be 'to kill', as in Verg. *A.* 4.601 *non ipsum absumere ferro*, Verg. *G.* 3.267 f., Sil. 13.718 *absumptus Cannis ... Servilius*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.65.2. This interpretation makes sense as long as one reads *pubem* with Heinsius. However, the Mss. have *puppem*. In that case one should compare Cic. *Arat.* frg. 24 *navibus absumptis fluitantia quaerere aplustra*, Liv. 37.26.4 *classis Rhodia ad Samum absumpta*, Tac. *Ann.* 15.18.2, Suet. *Iul.* 25.2 *in Britannia classe vi tempestatis prope absumpta*. The choice between the two options is largely a matter of taste, but I prefer *puppem*. The same doubt over *pubis* or *puppis* also in 5.621 or 4.528.

*

6. impulit hinc currus, monstrum inrevocabile belli
7. concutiens, Scythiaeque super tentoria sistit.
8. protinus e castris fugit sopor: excita tela,
9. turbati coiere duces. hos insuper ingens
10. fama movet, rate quae sacra vulgabat Achivos
11. advenisse sui petentes vellera Phrixi,
12. quos malus hospitio iunctaque ad foedera dextra
13. luserit Aeetes atque in sua traxerit arma.

**6f.** 'Next he drove his chariot forward, shaking the hideous object warning of irrevocable war, and made a stop above ...'.

**6 impulit ... currus** 'he drove the chariot (poetic plural) forward' (from Olympus to Aea through the air), as in Sil. 2.71, 7.696 f.(a horse), Stat. *Theb.* 7.83 *Mars impellit equos* and 7.743 with Smolenaars (horses), Sil. 16.419 *impellit currum clamor* (the chariot, as here). Compare Verg. *A.* 8.3 (see above) and Claud. 37 (*Carm. min.* 52 = *Gigantom.*).76 f. as quoted *ad* 27.

**monstrum ... belli** 'the object warning of war' must in the present context stand for his spear in view of *concutiens* (see below); cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.4 πολέμοιο τέρας (carried by Ἔρις, the comrade of Mars in VF 2.204), Verg. *A.* 8.1 (see above) and Claud. 20(*Eutrop.II*).166 f. *(Mars) hastam, / telum ingens nullique deo iaculabile, torsit.*

**inrevocabile** not so unusual (TLL 7.2.411.74 ff.); cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.71 *et semel emissum volat inrevocabile verbum.*

**7 (monstrum ... belli) concutiens** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.3 (see above) and Liv. 22.1.12 *Mavors telum suum concutit* or Ov. *Met.* 12.79 *concutiensque ... tela.* In Stat. *Thebaid* 7 Mars comes to Thebes in a chariot with flying horses (7.82 f. *volantes/ Mars impellit equos)* and later rouses the parties to war with his spear 7.133 f. *ter sustulit hastam/ ter concussit equos, clipeum ter pectore plausit,* a clearer description with the noise breaking up the meeting (7.608 f. *rumpitur et Graium subito per castra tumultu/ concilium).*

**Scythiaeque ... tentoria** In view of 34 Perses has brought along a Scythian army (Perses has summoned 'all the North' 325, 516); it is probable that it is in *his* camp that Mars is bringing panic after he has decided to assist Aeetes against Pallas.

**super** Mars is riding through the air, as Pallas and Juno were in 5.183.

**tentoria** once in Vergil, 13 times in Lucan, in the *Thebaid* 4 times (Smolenaars 205); in VF twice (the other instance 8.380).

**sistit** cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.821 f. where Gradivus, before the apotheosis of Romulus, *pronusque per aera lapsus/ constitit.*

**8 fugit sopor** cf. (TLL 6.1.1484.57 ff.) Stat. *Theb.* 6.27 *et nox et cornu fugiebat somnus inani, Silv.* 1.6.91 *fugitque pigra quies inersque somnus.*

**excita tela** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.434 where the Cyclopes prepare the chariots of Mars *quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes.* TLL 5.2.1246.41 ff. points to the fact that present *excire* is used in situations of waking up after sleep; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.779 *nec fruitur somno, vigilantibus excita curis,* Liv. 1.7.6 *somno excitus,* Sil. 17.100. On the scansion of composites of *ire* see 302 n.

**9 turbati ... duces** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.4 and 8.6 (see above), *A.* 12.325 *turbatosque duces* or in particular 11.451 where Aeneas suddenly resumes war: *extemplo turbati animi.* Further Stat. *Theb.* 3.394 *turbati extemplo comites,* 9.286 *haud tamen est turbatus fulmine ductor.*

**insuper** adverb, 'in addition'. Similar to the vivid *in arsi* alliteration *insuper ingens* are Luc. 3.611 f. *sed eam gravis insuper ictus/ amputat,* 6.781 *inpiaque infernam ruperunt arma quietem,* much weaker are Verg. *A.* 1.754 *insidias inquit,* 7.376 *infelix ingentibus.*

**10 (ingens) fama movet** Vergilian words: Verg. *A.* 11.368 *si fama movet, A.* 11.124 *o fama ingens,* but in particular the description of Fama in *A.* 4.173 ff. as a *monstrum horrendum, ingens.*

**rate ... sacra** built as it is under the protection of Pallas, 1.92 ff. The term is used for the peculiar ships of Aeneas in Verg. *A.* 9.109.

**fama ... quae ... vulgabat** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.608 *hinc totam infelix vulgatur fama per urbem*, 1.457, 8.554 *fama ... vulgata.*

**11 (Achivos) advenisse** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.11 (see above).

**sui** their relative, as stressed in 5.476. In actual fact, the *sons* of Phrixus were in a much better position to claim the Fleece, a thing VF tends to obscure.

**12** 'Aeetes has tricked them' (Mozley) 'by treacherously welcoming them kindly and making an alliance'.

**malus hospitio** cf. 4.614 (about coastal kings) *hospitii quis nulla fides.*

**iunctaque ... dextra** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.12 (see above), *A.* 1.408 *dextrae iungere dextram*, 3.83 *iungimus hospitio dextras*, 8.169 *iuncta est mihi foedere dextra.*

**13 sua ... arma** his party, as in 21; not, as in Verg. *A.* 10.412, 'his own armour'.

*

ergo consiliis dum nox vacat alta movendis
legatos placet ire duces mandataque Perses
edocet, adfari Minyas fraudemque tyranni
ut moneant. quinam hinc animos averterit error?
se primum Haemoniis hortatum ea vellera terris
reddere et exuvias pecudis dimittere sacrae:
hinc odium et tanti venisse exordia belli.

**14 ergo** on *ergo* as a bisyllabic first spondee in the line see 5 n. Kösters 86 recognizes four instances with (standard) long *-o* , as against five instances of shortened *-o* and 18 indeterminate. See 450 n. (*Iuno* with long *-o*, in 450 and 680; see on *leo* 347 n., *virgo* 491 n.).

**consiliis movendis** Langen and Burman collected from VF instances of *movere* with various substantives: *movere dolos* 5.291 (+ *orsa*), Stat. *Theb.* 12.183, *opus* Ov. Fast. 4.820, *colloquia* Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.49, *auxilia* Stat. *Theb.* 9.660, *conditiones* Suet. *Iul.* 75.2, *pacta* Claud. 27(*VI cos.Hon.)*.204, *sacra* VF 3.232, *aera* 5.78, *bella* 6.535 (and Ov. *Fast.* 3.395 *pugnas*); see also *seditionem* (Liv. 3.48.1), *lacrimas* (Tib. 1.10.63, *carmina*

(Verg. *A.* 7.642=10.163). For nocturnal *consilia* compare Verg. *A.* 9.224 ff. *cetera ... animalia somno laxabant curas; ductores Teucrum consilium summis regni de rebus habebant.*

**nox vacat alta** the combination *nox alta* is also found in (TLL 1.1780.20 ff.) Ov. *Am.* 3.5.46, Luc. 6.569 f., Seneca (several, one of these *Med.* 729), VF 2.288, 3.206, Stat. *Theb.* 2.102. For *nox vacat* cf. Cic. *Brut.* 272 *nullum tempus illi umquam vacabat aut a ... aut a ...*

**15 placet ire duces** see 3 n.

**16** understand as: *edocet mandata: adfari Minyas et ut moneant fraudem.* Langen, *ad* 3.461 comments on verbs of commanding with the infinitive or a subjunctive.

**edocet** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.13 (see above) as well as Verg. *A.* 10.152 in the mission of Aeneas to Etruria, to be compared with the present scene: *regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque/ quidve petat quidve ipse ferat, Mezentius arma/ quae sibi conciliet, violentaque pectora Turni/ edocet, humanis quae sit fiducia rebus/ admonet immiscetque preces*, where, however, the person addressed, Tarchon, makes a treaty immediately. *edocet* in Vergil explains the wickedness of Turnus, not, as here, the speaker's own plans; *ut moneant* (17) can be compared to *admonet A.* 10.153, Aeetes' *fraus* to the (minimal) *humanis fiducia rebus.*

**adfari Minyas** Perses orders this embassy to the Minyans trusting in the promises of Juno made to Pallas (VF 3. 504 f. *sponde adfore reges/ dis genitos, quis arma volens, quis agmina iungat*) and brought by her to Perses.

**17 moneant** *monere* with accusative *e.g.* also in Stat. *Theb.* 8.28 *(Minos) iura bonus meliora monet ....* (K/S 1.473: "*illud te admoneo*, ... vereinzelt findet sich so auch der Akkusativ eines Substantivs").

**quinam hinc animos averterit error?** an independent question with subjunctive because of the indirect speech. For the words cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.449 f. *bis communis actos/ avertit bonus error equos. quinam* for '*what, tell me*' also in 7.529. *animum avertere* also in Cic. *Orat.* 138 *ut ab eo quod agitur avertat animos*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.46.4 *ne volgi largitione centurionum animos averteret*, 2.16.3. *et aversi repente animi.*

**18 f.** Jason has after all chosen the wrong side. Perses (5.259 ff.) had supported the oracle that the Fleece should be handed over to the Minyans; Aeetes had driven Perses away.

**Haemoniis ... terris** as in 5.262 *vellus et Haemoniis infaustum mittere terris*; the order of the priest is quoted. For *Haemonius* = 'Thessalian' see 5.127 with Wijsman.

**19 reddere** cf. 5.261 *reddi iubet exitiale sacerdos/ vellus.*

**pecudis ... sacrae** the combination only here in VF. On *pecus, pecudis* versus *pecus, pecoris* see Wijsman *ad* 5.189.

**20 hinc ... venisse** cf. in the same lofty style Verg. *A.* 1.21 f. *hinc populum late regem belloque superbum/ venturum excidio Libycae.* This subtle comparison of the Punic wars to the skirmish between Aeetes and Perses (*tantum bellum*) is hyperbolic. *hinc odium*, summing up the reasons for the war, may have a counterpart in *his accensa* (*A.* 1.29).

**tanti ... belli** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.566 *aut tanti incendia belli*, 2.718, 6.832, 12.559.

**exordia** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.40 *primae exordia pugnae*; for the sense Verg. *A.* 8.15 *his coeptis* (see above).

*

quin potius dextramque suam suaque arma sequantur
aut remeent (neque enim Aeetae promissa fidemque
esse loco). abstineant alienae sanguine pugnae.
non illos ideo tanti venisse labores
per maris. ignotis quid opus concurrere nec quos
oderis? haec medio Perses dum tempore mandat,
aureus effulsit campis rubor, armaque et acres
sponte sua strepuere tubae.

**21 potius** a word from direct speech; see Wijsman *ad* 5.324.

**-que ... -que** Ennian and Vergilian *-que -que* is less frequent in later poets. The feature is ultimately derived from Homeric τε ... τε). See also Norden *ad* Verg. *A.* 6.233.

**dextramque suam** '*his* friendship'; cf. 7.652 *(nec) velit <Jason> in pacem dextramque reverti*, *A.* 4.597 *en dextra fidesque*, Sil. 11.252 *en dextra! en foedus!*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.58.1 *renovari dextras.* The contrast of *suam* is with line 12 *iunctaque ad foedera dextra* (of Aeetes).

**suaque arma sequantur** echoing *sequantur* in line 2, just as *dextram* repeats a word from line 12 and *sua arma* from line 13, to create contrast. The model is Verg. *A.* 3.156 *tuaque arma secuti* as well as 10.672 *qui me meaque arma secuti*; the relationship between both

Vergilian lines has been spotlighted by Wills[2] 267 (n.). *A.* 10.672 occurs in the indignant complaint to Jupiter by Turnus. I think we may read in the similar words here an allusion to the complaint with which Perses will end Book 6 (6.727 ff.), thus giving emphasis to the ring composition. In Verg. *A.* 8.15 *si fortuna sequatur*, 'in the case of success' the sense is slightly different but the word in the final position of the line may have been the model for both VF's lines 2 and 21.

**22 remeent** Shelton 330 points out the clue to Perses' positive character in that he warns Jason, simply to go home if he cannot join sides with Perses. The word probably brought with it a notion such as 'to his fatherland' in view of Verg. *A.* 2.95 *si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos*, 11.793 *patrias remeabo inglorius urbes*, Ov. *Met.* 15.480 *in patriam remeasse.*

**Aeetae promissa fidemque** cf. 5.223 *infidi ... Soligenae falli meriti. promissa fidemque* is a hendiadys. See Shelton 330: 'Jason had declared that *nuda fides* (5.498) had brought him to Colchis.' In 7.91 Jason asks: *quo versa fides?*

**23 loco** 'in the same place'; cf. Luc. 1.144 f. *nescia virtus stare loco.* The promises are not stable. — Elision of the long *-o* syllable of the iambic *loco* is one of 18 instances listed by Kösters 39.

**abstineant ... sanguine** cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 745 *sanguine humano abstine*, *Ep.* 114.7 *sanguine abstinuit*, or *caede abstinere* in Liv. 24.40.11 or 28.3.14.

**alienae ... pugnae** 'another man's war', as in Curt. 7.7.11 *alieno Marte* 'a war waged by others' (Rolfe), VF 6.474 'another man's peril'.

**24/25.** very artificial word order, more or less equivalent to *non illos venisse ideo per labores maris tanti.*

**24 tanti ... labores (per maris)** cf. Statius *Theb.* 8.268 f. *tantique maris secura iuventus/ mandavere animas*, Verg. *A.* 1.204 f. *per tot discrimina rerum/ tendimus in Latium.* See also 482 n. on the 'unknown sea'.

**25 per** poetically postponed. In itself postposition is not unusual, but it is with *per*, and certainly postponement to the *following line* is.

---

[2] Wills, J. 1996, *Repetition in Latin poetry*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

TLL 10.1.1167.9 ff. gives a small list of instances of *per* involved in postposition, *e.g.* Verg. *G.* 3.276 *saxa per et scopulos* (followed by Stat. *Theb.* 4.313 and *A.* 5.663, in its turn imitated by *Theb.* 5.404), and three more instances in Statius, among these *Theb.* 5.522 *stagna per arentesque lacus.*

**ignotis quid opus concurrere** the Argonauts do not know the party of Perses. On the other hand they do not know Aeetes' party either, and in 678 Medea admires Jason for accepting risks *ignota pro gente*; see 678 n. More often *concurrere proelia* or *pugnas* as in 177.

**nec quos** two monosyllables at the end of the line occur not too often, but also in 84, 163, 343, 537. An isolated monosyllable at the end is rare: see 236 n.

**26 (nec quos) oderis** construe: *ignotis, quos non oderis.* It brings us so to speak into the midst of monarchs negotiating. There is no good reason for Jason to hate Perses; there is, however, for Aeetes hating Perses, as mentioned in 20, and slyly in this way the willingness of Perses to render the Fleece is introduced again.

**medio ... tempore** referring to the time it takes for Perses to give his message; he is still in the midst of it when the panic starts.

**27 effulsit** ed. 1481 for *et fulsit* Mss.

**aureus ... rubor** cf. Plin. *Nat.* 37.126 (from TLL 2.1491.24 ff.) *chrysolithos aureo fulgore.* The words can refer to the onset of dawn, or, alternatively, to the cuirass of Mars looming over the camps.
U. Gärtner gives long lists of parallels for both interpretations (the first gleams of dawn and the shining of armour). To the latter, *e.g.*, Hom. *Il.* 10.153 f. τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς/ λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ, *Il.* 22.134 f. χαλκός ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος αὐγῃ/ ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου, ARh 3.1264 f. ἀσπίδα χαλκείην.../ φαίης ζοφεροῖο κατ' αἰθέρος ἀίσσουσαν/ χειμερίην στεροπήν..., I add Hom *Il.* 5.294 f. τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ/ αἰόλα παμφανόωντα. In the present case I prefer to think of armour in view of the description with some elements common to VF in Claud. 37 (*Carm. min.* 52 = *Gigantom.*).75 ff.: *primus terrificum Mavors non segnis in agmen/ Odrysios impellit equos, quibus ille Gelonos/ sive Getas turbare solet; splendentior igni/ aureus ardescit clipeus, galeamque nitentes/ adrexere iubae.*

**armaque** what is linked by *-que*? Do the weapons *shine* or *clash*? Does the author aim at both effects? One would normally expect *A B-que et C* to link A and B more closely; however, compare 350 f. ... *armaque et poenam poscens.* All editors before Courtney and Ehlers punctu-

ated with a comma after *rubor*, Burman even with a semi-colon, to link *arma* to *tubae* as in VF 5.252 *arma tubaeque sonent.* In this way the weapons *clash.*

**28 sponte sua** a baroque expression, since the god is apparently effecting the general change. In classical poetry, as Lucr. 2.1092 (*natura videtur) ipsa sua per se sponte omnia dis agere expers*, Verg. *Ecl.* 4.45, *G.* 2.47, Ov. *Met.* 1.90, the words refer to situations where gods do not play a rôle.

**(acres)/ ... strepuere tubae** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.2 *rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu*, VF 6.107 f. *acres/ ... ad lituos*, Sil. 9.6 f. *acres/ ... tubas*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.18 *iam litui strepunt*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.95 *ut primum strepuere tubae*, *Silv.* 5.3.193 *tubas acres lituosque.* For the nature of the noise (*tubae*, *vox*) compare VF 5.251 f. *excubias, Gradive, tene. praesentia luco/ arma tubaeque sonent, vox et tua noctibus exstet.* — The *tubae* play an important rôle in 3.15 *unde tubae* and 3.43 f. *dant ... signa tubae* as well as 3.84 f. *tubaeque sanguineae.*

*

28. Mars saevus ab altis
29. "hostis io", conclamat equis, "agite ite, propinquat!".
30. ac simul hinc Colchos, hinc fundit in aequora Persen.
31. tum gens quaeque suis commisit proelia telis
32. voxque dei pariter pugnas audita per omnes.

**28 Mars saevus (conclamat)** the cry that initiates sudden war also in Stat. *Theb.* 3.345 ff. (Tydeus), 7.127 ff. (Pavor entering Thebes), Sil. 6.559 *"hostis adest"* (the people in Rome), 12.169 *hostis adest, capite arma, viri* (Marcellus). Adamietz 82 rightly observes that the whole cataloque of both parties is framed by Mars here in lines 28-30 as well as by Mars in 178-181. For *Mars saevus* cf. Verg. *A.* 7.608, 11.153; for *saevus* see Wijsman *ad* 5.121. In 3.45 a voice is heard (in the Cyzicus scene) crying *hostis habet portus!* — followed by *clamorque tubaeque sanguineae* (3.84 f.).

**29 hostis io ... propinquat** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.38 *hostis adest, heia.*

**(ab altis) ... equis** his chariot; *equi* as the equivalent of ἵπποι, as in Hom. *Il.* 11.197 f. Ἕκτορα δῖον/ ἑσταότ' ἐν ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασι κολλητοῖσιν. Mars can be compared to Bellona *super foribus* (3.60); cf. 3.83 f. *Bistonas in medios ceu Martius exsilit astris/ currus.*

**conclamat** after all he is in Homer functioning as βριήπυος Ἄρης (Hom. *Il.* 13.521).

**agite ite** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.478 *"agite ite obsistite" clamat*, VF 6.285, and Sil. 4. 98 *"arma viri, rapite arma viri" dux instat uterque*, 15.649 f. *ite agite, oro, sternite ductorem. agite* is used as an interjection preceding and emphasizing an imperative, as in Verg. *A.* 1.627, 8.273 f. See also 33 n. (*age*).

**propinquat** ending the line, as in *A.* 9.355 *lux inimica propinquat*, *A.* 12.150 *vis inimica propinquat.*

**30 simul** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.4 (see above), VF 5.634 (Mars speaking) *et Persen simul et Minyas deposcimus hostes*; further 5.529 f. *cur simul ac Persen illinc sibi moverit atque hinc/ Thessalicam fortuna ratem*, 4.223 f. *et simul Aeacidae simul et Calydonis alumni/ Nelidesque Idasque.*

**fundit** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.329 *(armatos) fundit equus* (where there is still a notion of coming down through a small hole). Mars is bringing both parties into pitched battle.

**in aequora** 'to the plain'.

**31/32.** these lines have been deleted by Schenkl and, in particular, by Jachmann (*Rh.Mus.* 84 (1935) 228-231), who considered them an "Ersatz" for the next 154 lines in a hypothetical shortened version. The only other editor wishing to exclude the lines is Ehlers.

In fact the Mss. are in a mess: *tum* Postgate for *tunc*, *gens* Meyncke for *et*, *telis* ed. 1523 for *terris*. No doubt there is influence of Luc. 7.510 *illic quaeque suo miscet gens proelia telo*, which would justify *gens* and *telis.*

**31 commisit proelia** cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.14 f. *proelium commisit*, Liv. 21.57.8, Ov. Met. 12.68 *commissaque proelia*, Verg. *A* . 5.69 *pugnam committere* = Ov. *Fast.* 2.723 = *Met.* 5.75, Luc. 6.323 *aciem committere*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.143 *committere ... pugnas*, Sil. 13.155 *committere Martem.*

**32 voxque dei ... audita per omnes** cf. Juno's voice, louder than bronze-voiced Stentor's, in Hom. *Il.* 5.784 ff. or Mars in Stat. *Theb.* 3.420 ff. *deus armifer ... rura ... armorum tonitru ferit*; see 29 *conclamat* n. above. See also *vox* in 3.44 and 3.51 *vox omnes super una tubas.*

**pariter** an adverb frequent in Valerius and Statius: 30 times in the *Aeneid*, 45 times in VF, 41 times in the *Thebaid*, but only 32 times in the (long) *Punica.*

**pugnas ... per omnes** *per* is probably local: 'everywhere on the battle-field'. For local *per* cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 3.227 *hic per omnes sonos vocis cursus*, *Manil.* 23, *per animos gentium*, Verg. *A.* 4.286 = 8.21 *(animum)*

*perque omnia versat*, 6.565 *(lucis Avernis) perque omnia duxit.* The conjecture *turmas* Baehrens (and Mozley) is unnecesary.

## A': Catalogues of the Parties at War and the Supporting Gods

The catalogue is a component in epic that cannot be dispensed with. The opening of the war with the usual last-minute misunderstandings is followed by a long catalogue of wild Scythian tribes and by a few more members of the home party (many had been mentioned already in 5.567-618). 'The combination of very familiar and totally unknown names infuses the catalogue with some of its atmosphere — the former by the evocation of ideas traditionally surrounding each name, the latter by giving through the abundance of concrete detail the illusion of erudition and accuracy on the poet's part, and by eliciting the fascination which the unfamiliar is apt to produce' (Shreeves 176 f.). Finally Pallas and Mars and their apparel and retinue are presented.

Vergil listed the Italian allies of Turnus in *A.* 7.647-817, and the Etruscan allies of Aeneas in 10.166-214, both with an introductory invocation of the Muses, in accordance with the catalogue of the Achaeans in the *Iliad*, 2. 494-759, to which is added a much shorter one of the Trojans, 816-877. Apparently the key concept is variety, and with these lists of the parties split into smaller sections as a model, there remained the big Scythian catalogue, on which more below (42-170 n.).

*Subsections:*

A'.1. 33-41: invocation of the Muse.
A'.2. 42-170: catalogue of the Scythian side
A'.3. 171-181: the opponents and gods involved.

*

33. hinc age Rhipaeo quos videris orbe furores
34. Musa, mone, quanto Scythiam molimine Perses
35. concierit, quis fretus equis per bella virisque.
36. verum ego nec numero memorem nec nomine cunctos
37. mille vel ora movens. neque enim plaga gentibus ulla
38. ditior: aeterno quamquam Maeotia pubes
39. Marte cadat, pingui numquam tamen ubere defit
40. quod geminas Arctos magnumque quod impleat Anguem.
41. ergo duces solasque, deae, mihi promite gentes.

33-41. *Invocation of the Muse.*
Ultimately based upon Hom. *Il.* 2.484 ff., and showing correspondences with Verg. *A.* 7.37-45, 641-646 (introducing a catalogue), as well as with Stat. *Theb.* 7.628-631 (see Smolenaars):

| | *Arg.6* | | Verg. *A.7* | | *Theb.7* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | *hinc age* | 37 | *nunc age* | 628 | *nunc age* |
| 33 ff. | *quos, quanto, quis;* | 37 ff. | *qui, quae, qui;* | | |
| | | 642 ff. | *qui,quae, quibus;* | | |
| 33 | *videris* | | | 630 | *vidisti* |
| 34 | *mone* | 41 | *mone* | | |
| 36 | *memorem* | 645 | *memorare potestis* | | |

In Sil. 3.222 ff. , too, the triple-tiered *quos, quas, quasque* is found. Calliope is invoked in Stat. *Theb.* 4.35 ff. introducing the Greek catalogue and in Sil. 3.222 introducing the Punic troops, Erato in ARh 3.1-5 and possibly also in ARh 4.1-5. *age* seems derived from ARh (see below), but the Apollonian invocations strongly focus upon Medea's lovesick labours. In 3.14-18 Clio is invoked to give her version of the story of Cyzicus.

VF excels in the grand panorama of the North, the eternal strife amongst countless warriors, the hyperbolic 'thousand tongues being not enough'. Silius can only compare the Punic troops to the worn-out roll of Achaean ships and has not imitated VF.

Judith Steiniger recently gave an interpretation of the invocations in the *Thebaid* in which she would recognize a mirror-like scheme of invoking first the *deae*, then Clio, then Calliope then Apollo, and then the other way round. In VF nothing of the sort is found. In 1.5 Phoebus is addressed; in 3.15 Clio, 3.212 *Musa,* in 5.217 *dea,* in 6.33 as well as in 6.15 *Musa.*

**33 hinc** followed by *illinc* in 171, when the cataloque of the Scythian side is completed.

**age** cf. Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 2.707 *age non est modo verbum imperantis, sed hortantis adverbium.* The start with *age* (also in Statius just quoted) is derived from ARh 3.1 εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν.

**Rhipaeo** cf. 5.558 with Wijsman. For the orthography see Poortvliet *ad* 2.516, opting for *Riph-*, Liberman 208.

**videris** 'whereas Vergil derived from Homer only the gods' omniscience (*meministi, divae),* Valerius reintroduced their 'Homeric' omnipresence (παρέστε), *quos videris furores* (33)' (Smolenaars *ad* Stat.

*Theb.* 7.628-631). Statius follows VF, and improves upon him by making use of the simple fact that his scene of war is so close to Helicon that the Muses possibly *could* have witnessed the battle, if they had slightly better than human eyes. VF had already invoked the Muse in 5.217 f. *incipe nunc cantus alios, dea, visaque vobis/ Thessalici da bella ducis* (with Wijsman), and there emphasized that she had seen the scene.

**34 Musa** as in VF 6.516 *dic age, Musa* and 5.217 (*dea*) with Wijsman (*ad* 5.217-224a), based upon Hom. *Il.* 2.484 ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, ARh 3.1 εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, 'Ερατώ, Verg. *A.* 7.41 *(Erato) tu diva mone*, 641, 9.525 *vos o Calliope*, 10.163, Stat. *Theb.* 7.628 with Smolenaars, 4.34 f. *tuque o .../ Calliope.* In view of the parallels between Colaxes and Aventinus (see 48 n.) the author's primary model seems to have been *A.* 7.641 ff. introducing the catalogue of the Italians; 10.163 ff. also introduces a catalogue, of the Etruscans.

**molimine** a rare word, first used by Lucr. 4.902, then Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.93, Ovid (*Met.* 6.694 *tanto molimine luctor*, 15.578, 12.357, 15.809, *Pont.* 1.2.73), Liv. 2.56.4, Sil. 3.178.

**Scythiam** Perses had gone for assistance to the North (5.272), that is, to Scythia.

**35 concierit** cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.70.2 *concitis auxiliis*, Liv. 25.19.13 *aliquantum voluntiariorum ... ex agris concivit.*

**(mone) quis fretus equis** heroic horses, in contrast to their owners, are not mentioned by name in the following. The *equi* rather are metonymic for the whole cavalry. *quis* is archaic for *quibus* (see Austin *ad* Verg. *A.* 1.95), used in epic; to the list in Stadler (6.35, 6.90, 6.107, 6.493, 7.165, 7.175, 7.207 I add 3.318, 4.614, nine instances in total in VF. *fretus* does not often go with persons (TLL 6.1.1318.49 ff.) but cf. 1.403 *Peleus fretus soceris et coniuge diva*, Liv. 32.21.20 *exercituque fretum.*

**per bella** *per temporale*, as in many actions consuming some time: *e.g.*, Liv. 6.4.4, *al.*, Manil 1.786, 791, 5.502, *per lacrimas* VF 1.767, *per verba* Ov. *Fast.* 2.638, *Epic. Drusi* 307.

**36 memorem** cf. *si memorem* (5.606) in the similar context of an invocation of the Muses. For *memorem nec nomine* compare ὀνομήνω in Hom. *Il.* 2.488 below.

**37 (nec ... memorem .../) mille vel ora movens** Langen's delightful note on 6.36 f. traces the development of the *topos* from

Homeric 'ten' through 'hundred' and 'thousand' to Dracontius's 'as many tongues as hairs on the head'. Persius (5.1 f., 26) ridiculed the motif; Skutsch 627 ff. gives its full literary history, commenting on Enn. S469 f. = V561 f. *non si lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem sint/ in me.* The insufficiency recalls Verg. *G.* 2.42 ff.= *A.* 6.625 f.: *non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,/ non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,/ ferrea vox,* itself ultimately based upon Homer, *Il.* 2.488 οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,/ οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν. See also Hinds 35-46, who essentially ackowledges that, while the 'many tongues' *topos* had acquired a literary development of its own, VF returns to its basic Iliadic notion of inability to sum up foreign forces and having to invoke the assistance of the Muse to catalogue them. Hinds (94), commenting on Statius' use of the same *topos,* also remarks: 'One of the ways in which an epicist marks his genre as the highest and most ambitious is to stress his incomplete capacity to control it'. The Muse may nine centuries after Homer have assumed from time to time a voice similar to the author's own; it is as if VF draws attention to a section of his epic that he considered particularly felicitous, the catalogue.

**38 (gentibus) .../ ditior** examples of *dives/dis* with the ablative can be found in TLL 5.1.1589.80 ff.

**aeterno .../ (Marte)** cf. Luc. 8.223 *duros aeterni Martis Alanos* (see line 42).

**Maeotia** 'of the Sea of Azov', mentioned in Herodot. 4.86 ἡ Μαιῆτις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου, Mela 1.7, 1.10, Plin. *Nat.* 4.84.

**quamquam ... (cadat)** the subjunctive with *quamquam* has become much more frequent in this period, especially in poets (K/S 2.442).

**39/40:** 'yet manpower never is lacking, in luxurious plenty to replenish the two Bears and the Big Snake' (the North, teeming with people, replenishes its ranks).

**39 pingui ubere** 'fertility', as in Verg. *G.* 2.185 *fertilis ubere campus,* 2.234, 2.275 with Mynors. For *uber* see 711.

**defit** (passive of *deficere*) is rarely used, a few times in poetry, after Verg. *Ecl.* 2.22 five times in VF + Silius; *e.g.,* Sil. 9.335 *non ullum defit teli genus* (TLL 5.1.326.47 ff.).

**40 quod** referring to *uber*; in its sense of 'abundance' the *uber* replenishes the North.

**Arctos ... Anguem.** cf. Verg. *G.* 1.244, 245; Ov. *Met.* 2.171 ff.; *geminas Arctos* in Met. 3.45. Together the three constellations symbolize the North (see 34 n. *Scythiam*). I prefer a full stop after *Anguem.*

**41 ergo** with short *-o* (Kösters 86 and 14 n.).

**solas ... gentes** only their names (Langen).

**mihi promite** 'reveal to me', as in 4.623 f. *iamque ultima nobis/ promere fata nefas.*

42-170: *cataloque of the Scythian side.*

The catalogue, as a theme traditional in epic, is a mixture of names of and allusions to tribes often barely known to Romans and particulars of personal interest, frequently *not* taken up in the rest of the story. Lüthje 242-245 does his best to characterize the judgement of the Scythians as 'positive', but not very convincingly. The apostrophe of Ariasmenus (which gives emphasis to his tragic end) or the courteous way of introducing the Thyrsagetes (135) belong to the style of such catalogues and are not a 'positive' sign. Or does "positiv" stand for "frischfröhlich"? To my mind the barbarian traits are predominant, which would be in line with the civilizing mission announced by Jupiter in 1.531 ff. There is also depicted a sort of uncomplicated joy amongst these uncorrupted barbarians (banners, prophets, waggons, armour of bark, hunting, traditional songs, customs, hairdo) in the ethnographical tradition.

A number of foreign commanders are listed:

1. Anausis (43)
2. Colaxes (48)
3. Auchus (60)
4. Daraps (66)
5. Anxur (68)
6. Phryxus (70)
7. Sirenes (74)
8. Cyris (80)
9. Tyra (84)
10. Phalces (88)
11. Teutagonus (97)
12. Ariasmenus (103)
13. Vanus (115)
14. Otaces, Latris (121)
15. Auchates (132)
16. Coastes (maximus) (155)

In the course of the catalogue the simple list of a king together with his tribe becomes more and more diffuse, more and more tribes being mentioned without their leader, with finally a weird wizzard. This creates an atmosphere of an incredible and unlimited number, symbolized in a cluster of similes (163-170) to give an idea of such exotic armies. The first, Anausis, comes as a suitor of Medea; the last, Coastes, because he is interested in her skills. Therefore, the catalogue is framed by persons connected with Medea, which gives the whole war as well as the book (sandwiched as it is between two typical Medea books) overtones of interest in Medea.

VF can only mention leaders and nations (41). Highlights are Anausis, the suitor; Colaxes, son of the Scythian's main goddess; an array of banners; scythe-clad chariots, fighting dogs, the tiger catchers, witchcraft. Common to the catalogues in Luc. 3 and in VF 6 are (Shreeves 172) Choatrae, Arabes, Parthi, Hyrcania, Heniochi, Sarmatae, Essedonii, Arimaspi, Massagetae, Geloni, to which can be added Colchi and Sarmatici and as geographical names the Tanais, Rhipaea, Maeotis. Inspiration by Pompey's forces seems certain, Perses has been given traits of Pompey in his rallying of oriental troops. (It is interesting to speculate whether Caesar's rôle is given to (faithless) Aeetes or to (brave) Jason; since the fall of the Julian house the latter seems more likely and in accordance with VF's conformative position). The men of Ganges and Indus in their colourful robes, the Choatrae in their forests reaching to the clouds, Aethiopians and Scythians, together they form a swarm of tribes worthy to be emulated by VF in a poem set ten centuries back in time. Lucan was so to speak presentient of the *Argonautica* when he let the mention of Iolcos be followed by an excursus on the Argo (3.193-197). Lucan's (284 ff.) *non .... unum tot reges habuere ducem, coiere nec umquam tam variae cultu gentes* invited a correction: the army of Perses.

Compared to Vergil (7.647-817, 10.166-214), Lucan (3.169-297), Statius (7.254-373), Sil. 3.231-405, 8.356-616), expressions like *qui colunt, qui tenet, deseritur, qui habent* are absent; *qui cinxere lacum, expulit, impulit, nec procul, effudit,* are more specific expressions. *miserat* (42), *proxima* (48), *tertius* 60), *non defuit* (68), *movet agmina* (70) and *movit* (74), *ruunt* (86), *ducit* (114) are all found elsewhere in catalogues. Points in common with the catalogue of the Etruscans in *Aeneid 10* (lines 185, 154, 157) are *te quoque tradiderim / non ego silebo* (103, 134), *iungit opes* (143), *prima tenent* (171).

Only one simile adorns the catalogue, the fighting dogs barking like the dogs of Hecate. However, the catalogue is closed by a cluster of five similes.

On catalogues in epic and their literary function see references as summed up in Hunink 105, Smolenaars 119.

*

42. Miserat ardentes mox ipse secutus Alanos
43. Heniochosque truces iam pridem infensus Anausis
44. pacta quod Albano coniunx Medea tyranno,
45. nescius heu quanti thalamos ascendere monstri
46. arserit atque urbes maneat qui terror Achaeas,
47. gratior ipse deis orbaque beatior aula.

**42 miserat** for people being sent to war in Verg. *A.* 9.177, 547, 583, as well as *misit* 7.715, 762, Luc. 3.173, Sil. 3.345, *mittit A.* 10.351.

**ardentes** the participle is used of persons in various places in Vergil, *e.g.*, *A.* 1.423 *Tyrii*, 6.5 *iuvenum manus.*

**mox ipse secutus** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.642 f. *quem quemque secutae complerint campos acies,* 12.301 *super ipse secutus* (Corynaeus), 10.893 (the horse). *(ipsa* Ehlers is a printing error).

**Alanos** one of the peoples around the Scythae (Lucian *Toxaris* 51 κοινὰ γὰρ ταῦτα Ἀλανοῖς καὶ Σκύθαις, πλὴν ὅτι οὐ πάνυ κομῶσιν οἱ Ἀλανοι ὥσπερ οἱ Σκύθαι), mentioned in Luc. 8.23 quoted *ad* 38, living in Claud. 3*(Ruf.I)*.312 near the Maeotis (*caesamque bibens Maeotin Alanus*); cf. Amm. Marc. 22.8.31. According to Heeren 26 ff. they lived originally on the east coast of the Pontus, near Colchis, but migrated (partially) later on, eventually to go with the Vandals all through Gaul (Jord. 31) and Spain to Africa. See also Tarrant *ad* Sen. *Thy.* 630.In the opinion of Bosworth[3] the nomadic Sarmatians sometimes dubbed *Alani* should be called *Rhoxolani* (Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.1 *Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens*). See 232 n. for Nisbet 1995.

**43 Heniochosque** 'Rein-holders', neighbours of the Colchians, locatable by Plin. *Nat.* 6.30 *ab his ad Pontum usque Heniochorum plurima genera,* 6.26 *Cyrus* (Kur, Kura) *oritur in Heniochis montibus quos alii Coraxicos vocavere.*

**truces** one might suppose the word used for ethnographical ornament's sake, the more so in view of 1.743, 4.618, where it is applied

---

[3] A.B.Bosworth, Arrian and the Alani, *H.S.C.P.* 81 (1977) 222. n.21.

to the Colchi; 2.73 and 8.456 where it is applied to brute beasts like lions and bears; and in view of, *e.g.*, *Germaniae populi ... truces, caerulei oculi, rutilae comae* (Tac. *Ger.* 4.1). However, the epithet is suitable for a nation of pirates of formidable reputation: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.26 *Heniochae nautis plus nocuere rates*, Strabo 17.3.24= C839 Ἡνιόχων ... λῃστρικῶς.

**Anausis** Heeren 57 is inclined to derive the name from the *Anasi*, a people only once mentioned, by Plin. *Nat.* 6.22, possibly written as *Anausi* in the geographical source that VF may have used. Anausis fights Styrus (266) and meets his death through the hand of this rival for the hand of Medea (272). Anausis, the first ally mentioned, has personal motives for the war, and as such increases the plausibility of Perses bringing in all these allies for *his* personal war.

**44 and 45** are each a *versus leoninus*; for the term see Langen *ad* 1.39.

**44 pacta (sc. est)** 'betrothed', participle of *paciscere* as in 6.274, 6.585, 3.495, Verg. *A.* 10.722.

**Albano ... tyranno** cf. 5.258. *Albania* corresponds to present-day Azerbeidjan.

**Medea** in the start of the catalogue Medea is already mentioned, just as she will recur later in the book, to bridge the gap between the two 'Medea books' 5 and 7.

**tyranno** for the connotations of *tyrannus* cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.258, 5.387.

**45 nescius** few readers will not substitute Jason, who is as unwittingly a victim as Anausis nearly had been; peculiar is in fact that the poet will in 491 describe Medea not as a *monstrum*, but as *nescia virgo mali.* As usual VF postulates much knowledge in the reader.

**thalamos ascendere** is certainly not a usual expression, but there is a parallel, in spite of the difference in tense, in Verg. *A.* 12.143 f. *quaecumque Latinae/ magnanimi Iovis ingratum ascendere cubile.*

**monstri** the tragedy in Corinth is also alluded to in 5.686 where Medea is called *impia.*

**46 (ascendere) arserit** for *ardere* with infinitive cf. 5.85 with Wijsman.

**urbes ... Achaias** cf. *Graias ... urbes* in 1.33, 3.452, 4.401 f., 6.498, *Thessalicas ... urbes* in 7.146.

**qui terror** on attributive *qui/quis* see Wijsman *ad* 5.139. Also in 760 *qui vultus.*

**47 orbaque ... aula** without a wife (and children); cf. Catul. 66.21 *orbum ... cubile*, Ov. *Ars* 2.271 *orba senectus* = *Met.* 5.27. *aula* for the royal hall also in 7.102, 7.301, 8.166; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.504 *penetrant aulas et limina regum.* Anausis will be happier not having children by Medea that she could slaughter.

**gratior ipse deis** higher in their favour, *viz.*, than Jason.

*

48. proxima Bisaltae legio ductorque Colaxes,
49. sanguis et ipse deum, Scythicis quem Iuppiter oris
50. progenuit viridem Myracen Tibisenaque iuxta
51. ostia, semifero, dignum si credere, captus
52. corpore, nec nymphae geminos exhorruit angues.

**48 proxima** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.262 *proximus Eurymedon*, Sil. 3.241 *proxima ... Utica* (both from catalogues).

**Bisaltae** the country of a Macedonian tribe (!), mentioned in Herodot. 7.115 καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίη, Verg. *G.* 3.461 *Bisaltae ... acerque Gelonus* (in speaking of the Geloni, themselves a tribe of the Scythians, with which compare the brother of Scythes mentioned below). See Mynors *ad loc.* for the problem of a tribe so close to the Greeks been given the colour of barbarians and associated with the Scythians. On the basis of the *Georgics* the average reader would probably find the latter association quite convincing.

**legio** a conjecture of old standing (1481) for *regio* **V+L.**

**ductorque** see Wijsman *ad* 5.36.

**Colaxes** is a figure derived from the two versions of the Scythians' ancestry in Herodot. 4, 5 and 9. In one, the native version, Targitaus, forefather of the Scythians, is a son of Zeus and the Borysthenes' (Dnjepr's) daughter, who bore him three sons, of which the youngest, *Colaxais*, is to be king (notice the similarity in name to the mountain mentioned in 43 n.). This is contrasted with the Greek version, in which Heracles in his wanderings got involved with a mythical creature half damsel half serpent (cf. line 52), who bore him three sons, Agathyrsus, Gelonus and, youngest, Scythes, ancestor of the Scythian kings. This nymph (52) is called by VF *Hora* (58). Mela 2.11 apparently refers to the same story when men-

tioning that the Scythian kings derive their lineage from Hercules and *Echidna*.

Jupiter begetting Colaxes near the mouth of a river (50/51; see 640 n.) brings to mind the similar scene with Poseidon and Tyro in *Od.* 11.241 ff. ἐν προχοῇς ποταμοῦ παρελέξατο. See further 640 n. A model for Colaxes can be found in the catalogue of the Italians in Verg. *A.* 7.655 ff. where Aventinus is a son of Hercules and the priestess Rhea, who on his shield *insigne paternum/ centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram* (followed by Sil. 2.158 f. *centum angues idem Lernaeaque monstra gerebat/ in clipeo.* — Colaxes, lamented by his father Jupiter (621) is speared by Jason in 646 ff.

**49 sanguis ... deum** *sanguis* for 'progeny', as in 5.126 (with Wijsman). On *deum* the best account I know of the use of these archaic genitives in *-um* is given by Fordyce *ad* Verg. *A.* 7.189. Below we find *virum* in 110, 188, 236 (see n.), 356, 363, 410, 485, 504, *equum* in 237 (see n.), *socium* in 369, 388, *Danaum* in 173, *divum* in 626, *lituum* 166, 504.

**Scythicis ... oris** see above (*Colaxes*).

**50 viridem** a standard epithet for vegetation, as such used for the banks of rivers (Verg. *G.* 3.144 *viridissima gramine ripa*) but also from time to time for rivers themselves, as in Ov. *Met.* 9.32 where Achelous says *reieci viridem de corpore vestem*, or 2.12 *(habet unda deos) pars in mole sedens viridis siccare capillos*, 5.575 *(Arethusa) viridesque ... capillos*, 13.960 *viridi ferrugine barbam* (of Glaucus); compare on *glaucus* and *caeruleus* 296, 302 nn.

**Myracen Tibisenaque iuxta/ ostia** cf. *Od.* 11.241 ff. quoted above. *Myrace* can be unmasked as the Maris (in Scythia) of Herodot. 4.48 (Marisus in Strabo 7.3.13 (=C304). *Tibisenus* is the adjective to Tibisis; the Tibisis is a river in Herodot. 4.49, situated in Thracia near the Danube. Heeren 76 remarks that the physical distance between the two rivers forbids supposing that the latter can be meant. There is a Parthian hero Myraces in 6.690, 717. Heinsius (following Pius) preferred to read Tmyracen, since Tamarycen was a town in Scythia and a promontory in Hylaea. This seems an interesting solution in view of Tmolus (Timolus), Tmarus (Strabo 7.7.11 = C328 ὁ Τόμαρος ἢ Τμάρος (ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ λέγεται).

**51 semifero** for somatic hybrids with human and animal parts, as in 1.455 *semiferum ... luporum*, Lucr. 4.586 f. *Pan/ pinea semiferi capitis ve-*

*lamina quassans*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.220 *semifer ... Centaurus*. Bolton[4] found the image of the nymph in the Scythian Great Goddess. In fact a much better figure than he could refer to (from Rostovtzeff[5]) of the snake-legged winged goddess from Kul-Oba (Crimea, 4th century BC) appeared more recently in Piotrovsky et al..[6] I think that, since VF could *not* find the two snakes instead of legs in Herodotus, this must imply that for the Scythians he used a very reliable source. The word is applied to another human being with a fish-tail in Verg. *A.* 10.211 f. *frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit alvus / spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda*; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.4 *desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.*

**dignum si credere** appropriate in speaking of a myth in view of Verg. *G.* 3.391 ff. *munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est, / Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit* with Mynors' comment 'the phrase seems to apologize for unworthy or foolish behaviour by a divine figure', *A.* 6.173 about Triton, Ov. *Met.* 3.311 about Dionysus in his father's thigh, ARh 1.154 εἰ ἐτεόν γε πέλει κλέος (with T.C.W. Stinton, '*si credere dignum est*: some expressions of disbelief in Euripides and others', *Proc. Cambr. Philolog. Soc.* 22 (1976) 60-89).

**captus (corpore)** since speaking of Jupiter *captus* cannot be taken literally (with her tentacles), the expression must be in one line with *captus amore* as used in Verg. *E.* 6.10, *A.* 12.392, Ov. *Met.* 6.465, 8.124, 435, 9.511, *Ep.* 1.76 *peregrino captus amore*, or similar expressions as *Ep.* 15.63 (*Sapph.*) *meretricis captus amore*, 19.102 *paelice captus*, *Ars* 1.382 *nec iuvenum quisquam me duce captus erit*, *Fast.* 1.416 *Lotide captus*, 6.119 *cupidine captus*, *Met.* 4.344 *temperie blandarum captus aquarum*, Lucr. 1.15 *capta lepore*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.637 f. *facem captus ... / dissimulas*, Liv. 1.7.5 *Cacus ... captus pulchritudine boum*, Plin. *Nat.* 8.154 *(Alexander) puero capto eius decore* (the horse Bucephalus). The expression comes close to the humorous.

**52 geminos ... angues** see Herodotus quoted above. Compare the shield of Aventinus mentioned in 48 n. *Colaxes*.

*

53. cuncta phalanx insigne Iovis caelataque gestat
54. tegmina dispersos trifidis ardoribus ignes;

---

[4] Bolton, J.D.P., *Notes on Valerius Flaccus*, Class. Rev. 71, 1957, 104-106.

[5] Rostovtzeff, M., *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 1922.

[6] Piotrovsky, B., L. Galanina, N. Grach, *Scythian Art*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1987, Fig. 203.

55. nec primus radios, miles Romane, corusci
56. fulminis et rutilas scutis diffuderis alas.
57. insuper auratos collo gerit ipse dracones,
58. matris Horae specimen, linguisque adversus utrimque
59. congruit et tereti serpens dat vulnera gemmae.

**53 f.** 'the whole troop bears the emblem of Jupiter and a shield engraved with spreading fires in the form of threefold flashes.'

**53 insigne Iovis** his badge, the thunderbolt, *ignes* (54). For *insigne* cf. *A.* 7.656 ff. *satus Hercule pulchro / pulcher Aventinus, clipeoque insigne paternum / centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram.*

**caelataque (tegmina dispersos trifidis ardoribus ignes)** with accusative of respect, as *exprimi* in 1.398, 2.654 and *caelare* also in the peculiar 1.402 *caelata metus alios gerit arma,* in Sil. 1.407 *flumineaque urna caelatus Bagrada parmam,* 10.174 *(Phorcys) caelatus Gorgone parmam. tegmina* for 'shield' (56) is found in several places in the *Aeneid* (*e.g.,* Verg. *A.* 10.887 *immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam*), but not without further specification as here. *tegmina* also occurs, as here, in Vergil's catalogue *A.* 7.632. There it stands for 'helmet'.

**54 trifidis ardoribus** the treefold thunderbolt, as in Ov. *Met.* 2.325 f. *trifida fumantia flamma / corpora,* 2.848 f. *rectorque deum, cui dextra trisulcis / ignibus armata est* with Bömer, who gives many further parallels. The ablative is of the explanatory type, as discussed by Hillen 82 ff.

**55 radios** for *radii* of a thunderbolt compare ARh 1.730 ff. κεραυνόν .../ ..., μιῆς δ' ἔτι δεύετο μοῦνον/ ἀκτῖνος as well as (from TLL 6.1.1529.31 ff.) Plin. *Nat.* 37.189 *discurrentibus in medio fulminis radiis,* Stat . *Theb.* 10.674 *fulminis ... radiis,* influenced by Verg. *A.* 8.429 *tris imbris torti radios* (in the caves of the Cyclopes).

**miles Romane** proudly addressed, quite differently from the vocative in Luc. 8.676 ff., where he is addressed in a situation he should be ashamed of: *degener atque operae miles Romane secundae, / Pompei diro sacrum caput ense recidis, / ut non ipse feras?*

**corusci (fulminis)** cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.5 f. *namque Diespiter / igni corusco nubila dividens*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.216 f. *taedet saevire corusco / fulmine.* Several uses of *coruscus* in Wijsman *ad* 5.182, *e.g.* with *fulgur* in Lucr. 5.295, also 7.567 f. *corusci / ira Iovis torsit ... ignes.*

**56 fulminis** after its emblem the Twelfth Legion was called *Fulminata*. The legion was according to Campbell[7] stationed after AD 9 in Cappadocia, which borders on Armenia and the Parthians. A natural fortress some 70 km north of Baku was in the hands of a detachment from the *legio XII Fulminata*.[8]

**diffuderis** *(ed. princ.)*, future-perfect, for *diffunderis* **V+L+C**.

**rutilas alas** for *alae* of a thunderbolt, to increase its speed, see Poortvliet *ad* 2.97, who quotes Aristoph. *Av.* 1714 πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος and Verg. *A.* 5.319 *fulminis ocior alis.*

**57 auratos ... dracones** cf. 1.273 *auratis ... corymbis*, 8.203 *auratae ... Minervae* (on the poop), and, in a similar context of barbarian jewelry, on a clasp in 3.189 f. *qua caerulus ambit/ balteus et gemini committunt ora dracones.*

**collo gerit** Bolton, printed by Courtney and Ehlers for *collegerat* Mss. The interpretation of these verses depends on the choice of text. With the reading *collegerat*, *insuper* should be rendered 'on their shields', and the phrase read as 'on their shields Colaxes had combined serpents, the emblem of his mother, and the snakes group <themselves> in a harmonious poise on both sides (*congruere* OLD 1a) with the tongues opposite each other, and inflict wounds on a round jewel'. However, if *collo gerit* is chosen, the phrase becomes 'In addition Colaxes was wearing around his neck serpents, etc.'. In spite of the clear Ms. support for *collegerat*, I prefer *collo gerit* in view of *cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram*, *A.* 7.656 ff. as quoted in 53 n.

**58 Horae** no satisfactory derivation with eastern connections of the name is known. Herodotus mentions in 4.59 that the Scythians pay honour to Ἱστίην μὲν μάλιστα (in Scythian Ταβιτί), and she is interpreted as the Great Goddess (a remnant of pre-Scythian times according to Piotrovsky et al.). If VF's source was as reliable as I argued earlier (51 n.), the name might be important.

**specimen** 'a reminder, a symbol of', as in Verg. *A.* 12.164 *Solis avi specimen*, Sen. *Thy.* 223 *specimen antiquum imperi.*

**linguisque adversus utrimque (congruit)** facing (serpents) with their tongues protruded.

---

[7] B.Campbell, *The Roman Army, 31 BC-AD 337, a source book*, p.83), London, 1994

[8] A.B. Bosworth, Arrian and the Alani, *H.S.C.P.* 81 (1977) 222-255, p. 226 n. 38).

**59 tereti ... gemmae** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.313 *et tereti subnectit fibula gemma*; apparently a gem in the midst with serpents around it and biting at it.

**dat vulnera** *vulnere* is a printing error in the edition of Ehlers for *vulnera.* For *vulnera dare* cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.458 *dare vulnera possumus hosti*, or Verg. *A.* 8.570 f. *dedisset funera.*

*

60. tertius unanimis veniens cum milibus Auchus
61. Cimmerias ostentat opes, cui candidus olim
62. crinis inest, natale decus; dat longior aetas
63. iam spatium; triplici percurrens tempora nodo
64. demittit sacro geminas a vertice vittas.

**60 tertius** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.175 *tertius ille* (in the Etruscan catalogue).

**unanimis** *unanimus/-is* occurs thrice in Vergil (in a martial context in 12.264 *vos unanimi densete catervas)*, not in Lucan, four times each in VF and the *Thebaid*, 6 times Sil. (of which once *unanimis*). Compare Wijsman *ad* 5.28.

**veniens** not in other catalogues; cf., however, Verg. *A.* 10.544 *veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro* (the priest).

**cum milibus** cf. 5.273 for kings 'with their thousands'.

**Auchus** already Maserius derived *Auchus* from the *Auchetae* (Plin. *Nat.* 6.22), *Auchatae* in Herodot. 4.6 (a tribe of Scythians), the origin also of the name *Auchates* (132). Jason kills Auchus in 619 f. Auchus is rich, old and a priest, a venerable combination; his death invokes pathos. The priest Auchus corresponds to Umbro in Verg. *A.* 7.750 ff. (see above), to Haemonides (*A.* 10.537) or Amphiaraus in the *Thebaid.* Others are Aquites (295), Phasiades (640). On their fate see 304 n.

**61 Cimmerias** a people formerly in the regions of Scythia (Herodot. 4.12), giving its name to the Crimean peninsula. Mela 1.13 still mentions them (side by side with the Amazons and Hyperboreans). To Ovid in *Met.* 11.592 they must also have a mythical ring, since he locates the cave of Somnus near the Cimmerii. For their northern homes compare 3.398 f. *Stygiae devexa silentia noctis/ Cimmerium domus.*

**ostentat opes** cf. Verg. *A.* 4.75 *ostentat opes* (wealth), 10.609 *sustentat opes* (power), Sil. 3.673 f. *dites sine vomere glaebas/ ostentat senior.* In the present array of contingents *opes* probably refers to troops.

**candidus olim (crinis inest)** the present tense with *olim* indicates hair that was white already in the past. In combination with *natale decus* it implies that he was one of those people with a lock of white hairs already as a child. It may have made him sacred and distinguished by fillets from his youth. By now he is old and becoming bald. VF uses *olim* in the same sense in 1.53 *olim annis ille ardor hebet.* Caesar covered his baldness with a laurel wreath (Suet. *Iul.* 45.2); the threefold fillets may serve the same purpose. — Plin. *Nat.* 7.28 relates that one *Ctesias gentem ex his quae appelletur Pandae, in convallibus sitam annos ducenos vivere, in iuventa candido capillo qui in senectute nigrescat*; Indian marvels such as these may have influenced the present story. Another hero distinguished from youth and equally *sacer* was Lichas (Verg. *A.* 10.315, born by posthumous cesarial section).
*inesse* of hair is also found (TLL 7.1.2050.8 f.) in Ov. *Am.* 1.14.31 f. *formosae periere comae , quas vellet Apollo, / quas vellet capiti Bacchus inesse suo!.*

**62 natale decus** cf. *decus nativum* in *Nux* 52.

**63 (dat ... aetas) iam spatium** indicating baldness. Shackleton Bailey proposed *speciem*, printed by Ehlers. In his argumentation he devotes much energy to supporting an old (doubtful) interpretation in which the hairs grew longer (occupying more *room*). The interpretation of a bald head (Langen) seems to me straightforward, even if I find no parallels for *spatium dare* as 'creating a vacant place' (*spatiumque dedere* in Verg. *A.* 12.696 is different, there people go away and make room).

**triplici ... nodo** a threefold knot has something esoteric or even magic about it. The number three plays, for instance, a rôle in 1.193, 3.347 f., 441, 7.610, as well as in Ov. *Met.* in 7.189 f. and 261 (Medea at work), 8.51, 10.279, 452, 14.58, 387 (in the latter two instances Circe at work), 15.684 (reading *ter*). Ausonius wrote a poem on the number three *(Griphus ternarii numeri)* in 90 lines.

**percurrens** in TLL 10.1.1233.35 classified among the class *vario modo*, that is, there is no good parallel. *tempora* is accusative of respect.

**64 demittit ... vittas** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.537 f. *Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos / infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta.*

**sacro ... a vertice** for *vertex* as 'crown of the head' cf. Catul. 66.8 *e Beroniceo vertice caesariem*, Ov. *Met.* 8.638 *submissoque humiles intrarunt vertice postes*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.607 *ab intonso pendebat vertice crinis.*

*

Datin Achaemeniae gravior de vulnere pugnae
misit in arma Daraps, acies quem Martia circum
Dandaridum potaque Gerus quos efferat unda
quique lacum cinxere Bycen. non defuit Anxur,
non Radalo cum fratre Sidon, Acesinaque laevo
omine fatidicae Phryxus movet agmina cervae.
ipsa comes saetis fulgens et cornibus aureis
ante aciem celsi vehitur gestamine conti
maesta nec in saevae lucos reditura Dianae.

**65 Datin** a Persian name, as in Datis and Artaphrenes, commanders of the Persian expedition against Athens, 490 BC. There is no mention of his final fate.

**Achaemeniae** 'Persian', after the Persian royal house, called after its ancestor Achaemenes (Herodot. 3.75).

**gravior de vulnere** cf. Vell. Pat. 2.55.4 *Pompeius, gravis vulnere*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.443 *mille gravem telis.*

**66 misit in arma** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.87 *in arma pater ... misit*, 9.583 *genitor quem miserat Arcens*; see further 42 n.

**Daraps** the fourth king, his name possibly derived from a Bactrian town Darapsa, Δάραψα, mentioned in Strabo 11.11.2 (=C516) (quoted by Steph. Byz.). There seems to be reiteration of the letter D after Anausis, Bisaltae (under Colaxes), Cimmerias (under Auchus), ... On alphabetic order in Vergil's catalogue see Fordyce *ad* Verg. *A.* 7.641 ff. There is the motif here of the father sending his son, as in Vergil *A.* 2.87; or contrariwise 10.417 where a prophetic father tries to hide his son Halaesus.

**66/67:** 'around whom the martial array of Dandarids'.

**67 Dandaridum** (Schrader, 1761:10); Gangaridum Mss. The Gangarids (Plin. *Nat.* 6.65 *Gangaridum Calingarum*) lived on the banks of the Ganges; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.26 f. *solidoque elephanto/ Gangaridum.* This is far away; therefore *Dandaridum* has been conjectured by J. Schrader. This would result in alliteration of Datis, Darpas and the Dandarids. (On the other hand Gerus would give alliteration with Gangarids just as well). Dandarii/Dandaridae are mentioned by Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.1 *regem Dandaridarum exturpat* ... as well as by Strabo 11.2.11 (=C495),

Plut. *Luc.* 16, and lived beside the Hypanis, near the Crimea Bosporus. The conclusion seems inevitable: *Gangaridum* is unsatisfactory, while *Dandaridum* is an astute solution. Unfortunately, all editors have nevertheless printed *Gangaridum.*

**pota ... unda** cf. the use of *bibere* in Verg. *A.* 7.715 (in the catalogue) *qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt* with Fordyce, *Ecl.* 10.65 *Hebrumque bibamus*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.20 *Hiber Rhodanique potor*, Sil. 8.367 *qui potant Thybridis undam*, all these after Homer *Il.* 2.825 πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο. The general use is now extended to literally drinking the water and bearing the consequences. For *potus* as participle of *potare* cf. Verg. *G.* 4.120 *potis ... rivis*, Ov. *Met.* 15.313 *flumen ... potum.*

**Gerus** or *Gerrhus* Plin. *Nat.* 4.84, a river bringing water to the *Byces* (68) marshes, Herodot. 4.19 and 4.56 (Γέρρος).

**efferat** water of such properties is mentioned by Ovid (*Met.* 15.330, on the river Lyncestis (cf. 321 *furit)*, *Fast.* 4.363 ff. *qui bibit inde furit*, on the Gallus); the latter river is also mentioned by Pliny (*Nat.* 31.9 *ne lymphatos agat*). *efferare* is not so rare; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 83.26 *ebrietates continuae efferant animos.*

**68 quique lacum cinxere** in a similar description of peoples in Mela 1.12 *illic Caspiani Scythis proximi sinum Caspium cingunt.*

**Bycen** *Byce*, a marsh near the Sea of Azov, Plin. *Nat.* 4.84-88.

**non defuit** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.678 *nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis* (in the catalogue).

**Anxur** in Verg. *A.* 10.545 a bragging Rutulian crippled by Aeneas. The name in Vergil is taken from a city in Latium (Harrison *ad loc.*).

There is no mention of his final fate. I find no oriental connexions in the name.

**69 Radalo** going with *fratre*; there is no mention of Radalus' final fate. Courtney and Ehlers are the only editors to print *Radalo* with the Mss., all others have *Rhadalo.* Heeren points to several names in Greek beginning with *Rha-*. In view of the many errors in proper names in the Mss. I feel that emendation to *Rha-* seems warranted. However, certainty is impossible in view of, *e.g.*, *Rambelus* (529), *Radamistus* (Tac. *Ann.* 12.44.3 ff.).

**Sidon** old conjecture for *sydonya caesinaque* in **V** and **L**, *Sidon Jacesinaque* in **C** (*vet. cod.*); accordingly spelled as *Sidon* by all editors before 1970, *Sydon* by Courtney and Ehlers. The city of Sidon (Σιδών) in

Phoenicia may have suggested the name, or, alternatively, the tribe of the Sidones (6.95 n., although written as Σιδόνες), part of the *Bastarnae* (6.96). There is no mention of the man's final fate.

**Acesina** Plin. *Nat.* 4.83 locates the river Acesinus in the neighbourhood of the Crimea and the Borysthenus. In addition Steph. Byz. gives the following information: Τάναις· ... τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀκεσίνην εἶναι.

**70 (laevo) omine** for the connotations of *laevus* in prophecy cf. Austin *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 2.693, Mynors *ad G.* 4.7, Fordyce *ad* Cat. 45.8, Pease *ad* Cic. *Div.* 1.12, 2.82.

**fatidicae ... cervae** Sertorius had a famous hind that he used for prophecies; the story is told in Plut. *Sert.* 11 + 20, and mentioned in Gell. 15.22, Frontin. *Strat.* 1.11.13, Iustin. 7.1.9. The *cerva, ipsa,* with antlers (71) is remarkable, to say the least. However, this was a topos: the Arcadian hind to be caught by Hercules on vases also has (guilded) antlers (RE Sup. III.1037). Aelian *Hist. Anim.* 7.39 discusses the commonplace of antlered hinds, quoting Soph. *fr.* 89 Radt, Eurip. *fr.* 857 N, 740 N, Pind. *O.* 3.29/51 (on which B.L. Gildersleeve: 'mythic does have mythic horns'), Anacreon *fr.* 408 Page; however, only the last is speaking explicitly of a hind with young, and Pindar of χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον θήλειαν, the rest possibly taking the word 'hind' for 'deer'. A completely white hind figures in Sil. 13.115 ff. where it is described as the mascot of Capua.

**Phryxus** the name Phrixus Mss., understandably obelized in Ehlers, is most unexpected and there is no proper solution. Heinsius suggested *Chrixus*, since that name seemed to occur in Silius (4.148, 4.151, in fact rather *Crixus*; see also Spaltenstein *ad loc.*). There it is applied to a *Boius*, a Celt, which may yet be appropriate if one thinks of the Galatians living in Anatolia. — I would suggest *Phryxus*, in view of frequent *-i/-y* exchanges; *Phryx* = Phrygian, while Phryxus would result from adaptation like Anasis/Anausis, Colaxais/Colaxes, Auchus/Auchates, Tyra/Tyras, Batarnae/Bastarnae, Thyssagetes/ Thyrsagetes, etc. I have to admit, however, that by the time of VF Phrygia is part of the empire and as such remote from the northern and eastern climes of Perses' army.

**movet agmina** see 74 n. *movit.*

**71 ipsa comes** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.223 *ipse comes.*

**saetis fulgens et cornibus aureis** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.171 *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis.*

**aureis** with synizesis in the Greek manner, cf. *Phinei* in 4.425, 5.127 and Verg. *A.* 1.726 (*laquearibus aureis/* with Austin), 5.352 (with Williams), 8.553 (both *unguibus aureis/*).

**72 celsi ... gestamine conti** *gestamen* has been labeled as a special case in TLL 6.2.1956.11 ff., as having active meaning. Normally, as elsewhere in VF, it refers to what is borne; here it refers to the process of conveyance. 'Upon high poles' not the hind itself, but her effigy is borne; accordingly the comment that 'she is bound not to return to Diana's woods' (only the badge is) is adding pathos. A stag can be seen upon a standard in the upper middle part of the frontispiece.

**73 maesta** according to TLL *s.v.* the frequency of *maestus* as compared to *tristis* is 39/23 in VF, while it is 39/60 in Vergil.

**nec in** conjecture (1523) for *necis* **V+L**.

**saevae ... Dianae** an allusion to the savage Artemis in Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.*, requiring foreigners reaching the Crimea to be sacrificed. If the hind really came from Diana's sacred wood it was indeed awe-inspiring (*laevus*, 69).

**lucos** conjecture by Heinsius for *luco* **V+L**. On Diana's grove see 495 n.

*

74. movit et Hylaea supplex cum gente Sirenem
75. impia germani praetentans vulnera Perses.
76. densior haud usquam nec celsior extulit ullas
77. silva trabes fessaeque prius rediere sagittae
78. <arboris ad summum quam pervenere cacumen.>
79. quin et ab Hyrcanis Titanius expulit antris
80. Cyris in arma viros plaustrisque ad proelia cunctas
81. Coelaletae traxere manus.

**74 movit** for *movere* in catalogues cf. 70 *movet agmina* (and 402 f. *legiones/ Tisiphone ... movet)*, Verg. *A.* 7.473 f. on different aspects of Turnus rousing the Rutulians, Luc. 3.170 *casuras in proelia moverat urbes*, 229 *movit et Eoos bellorum fama recessus*, 249; also Stat. *Theb.* 7.254 f. *mille sagittiferos ... / promovet ecce Dryas.*

**Hylaea... cum gente** from *Hylaea*, a wooded island in the Borysthenes region, near the Acesinus; cf. Herodot. 4.9, 18 f., 54, 76,

Plin. 4.83 *inde silvestris regio Hylaeum mare quo adluitur cognominavit.* Interestingly, OLD derives Hylaeus from a centaur Hylaeus (Verg. *A.* 8.294, *G.* 2.457), which seems less appropriate.

**Sirenem C**; *Syenen ed.* 1481 (from 703 **V+L**), *Syrenen* **V+L**. (Carrio printed *Syrenem*).

Syene of the editors would be present-day Assuan in southern Egypt (Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.79 *calidae ... Syenae*, Luc. 8.851 *exustam Cancro torrente Syenen*). Ov. *Met.* 5.74 knows a name Syenites. But why this sudden move to Egypt? In view of the rehabilitation of **C** I have looked for a tribe living near the Crimea with a name like *sire-*. There in fact is one: the Σίρακες (Strabo C506 = 11.5.8), Σιρακοί (Strabo C492 = 11.2.1), Σιράχοι, Σιρακηνοί, from the land Σιρακηνή (Strabo C504 = 11.51.2), living near the *Ixomatae* (144). A change from *-n* to *-c* would be a mild one, from -α to -η even more so, resulting in *Siracem*, possible in view of the tribe *Siraci* (Plin. *Nat.* 4.83, Tac. *Ann.* 12.15, 12.16) or *Sirachi* (Mela 1.114) or perhaps even *Siraces*.

However, there is also a tribe in Thrace with the name *Sires* (Steph. Byz. Σίρες· ἔθνος Θρᾴκης). If we give full credit to Carrio's *vet.cod.* and adopt his reading, here is one that may be derived from a local name.

**75 impia ... vulnera** *both* brothers were cruel, cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.271.

**praetentans** the verb is a hapax legomenon. But it seems good Latin and *praetendens* Slothouwer is unnecessary.

**76 densior ... (silva)** *densus* is applied to *silva* in Caes. *Gal.* 3.29.2 *densiores silvas*, 4.38.3, Verg. *G.* 2.17; to *arbor* in Ov. *Am.* 3.13.7,to *fagus* in Verg. *Ecl.* 2.3, to *ulmus* in Ov. *Met.* 2.557, to *ilex* in *Fast.* 2.165.

**haud** *haud* had an archaic flavour, in accordance with its survival in epic poetry (cf. Axelson 91, Tränkle 45).

**extulit (silva trabes)** *efferre* as 'to raise' or 'to display' cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.180 *et Gorgonis extulit ora*, Verg. *A.* 10.262 *(clipeum sinistra) extulit*, Liv. 1.40.7 *elatam securim in caput deicit.*

**77 trabes** for *trabs* as 'tree' see Wijsman *ad* 5.162, 5.639.

**fessae ... rediere sagittae** arrows that could not reach that high. *fessus* is an epic word (statistics in Poortvliet 42). Compare Stat. *Theb.* 6.940 *venit harundo retro*, where it indicates an ominous event.

**78** The Editio Princeps printed *arboris ad summum quam pervenere cacumen* to fill a lacuna in the Mss. One has generally considered the phrase made up on the analogy of Verg. *G.* 2.122 ff. *gerit India lucos/ ... ubi aera vincere summum/ arboris haud ullae iactu potuere sagittae.*
Similar stories, possibly from the same source as the present one, are told in Plin. 7.21 (about India) *arbores quidem tantae proceritatis traduntur ut sagittis superiaci nequeant et, si libeat credere, ...*, followed by Solin. 52.46.

**79 Hyrcanis** for those (Pius, Schenkl, Courtney) who look for an eastern, *e.g.* Thracian, context there is a reference here to a Thracian town on the basis of Steph. Byz. Ὑρκανία· πόλις Θρᾴκης. On the other hand Hyrcania is a name for regions to the south of the Caspian Sea where, for instance, the Cyrus flows, so that it is more logical to look to these parts. It is mentioned in a barbarous context in Sen. *Thy.* 629-632 *(quaenam ista regio est? ...) an feris Hister fugam/ praebens Alanis, an subaeterna nive/ Hyrcana tellus an vagi passim Scythae*, as well as in Verg. *A.* 4.367, 7.605, and Catul.11.5 amidst several oriental and fabulous countries, Arabia, Parthia, and Egypt. In Sen. *Med.* 712, again in connexion with Caucasus, Arabia, and Media, Suebian women collect herbs in the cold Hyrcanian woods; the latter also figure in Luc. 3.268 *vastisque Hyrcania silvis.* The word recurs in 114. In Lucr. 3.750 the hound 'of Hyrcanian breed' by its parallelism with a hawk denotes a relentless hunting-dog.

**antris** may convey a notion of 'lairs', for tigers (Verg. *A.* 4.367) or lions (Stat. *Theb.* 5.204).

**80 (Titanius) Cyris** the spelling Cyris (ed. Aldina, 1523) with Carrio and all recent editors except Courtney and Ehlers who print Ciris **V+L**. The name is derived from the river Cyrus (Heeren 39) in Albania (Azerbeidjan, 44n.), Plin. 6.26 *Cyrus oritur ... etc.*, Strabo 1.3.21 = C61. *Titanius* alludes to the Sun, as it does in 5.463 etc., based upon the meaning of Cyrus ('Sun') in Persian: Plut. *Artax.* 1.2, Hesych. *s.v.* Κῦρος.

**(expulit) in arma viros** cf. Verg. *A.* 6.813 f. *residesque movebit/ Tullus in arma viros.*

**plaustrisque** an ethnographical detail, also found in Sil. 3.290 of the Getulians: *plaustris habitant.*

**81 Coelaletae** conjecture by Lemaire ("*nov. editor*") for *coeia laetae* **V+L**, *Coraletae* **C**. The Coelaletae (Κοιλῆται) were a tribe in Thracia

(Tac. *Ann.* 3.38.4 *Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes*, Plin. *Nat.* 4.41 *Celaletae*), where they lived near the mountains. The habits ascribed to them (with wagons; see below) are rather Scythian; cf. 6.331, Heeren 66.

81. ibi sutilis illis
82. est domus et crudo residens sub vellere coniunx
83. et puer e primo torquens temone cateias.
84. linquitur abruptus pelago Tyra, linquitur et mons
85. Ambenus et gelidis pollens Ophiusa venenis.
86. degeneresque ruunt Sindi glomerantque paterno
87. crimine nunc etiam metuentes verbera turmas.

**82 (sutilis) domus** cf. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 709 ff. Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξῃ νομάδας, οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας/ πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις; *sutilis* already in Vergil, *A.* 6.413 f. *cumba/ sutilis* (with Plin. *Nat.* 24.65 *sutiles naves*), 12.273 f. *sutilis .../ balteus.*

**et crudo residens sub vellere coniunx** simply repeating the contents. The last four words, however, here immediately before the line with the *cateiae*, in their pattern closely resemble Verg. *A.* 7.742 *raptus de subere cortex*, following the line with the *cateiae.*

**83 e primo ... temone** *primo* 'the end of' (Mozley), as in VF 5.96, 117, 6.641 (with n.). *temone* refers to wagons, such as in 2.176 f. the Sarmatians have, or in Verg. *G.* 3.359 Scythians; their nomadic habits also in Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.135 f., or Herodot. 4.46.

**torquens ... cateias** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.741 *Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias.* Already Servius is no longer certain what *cateiae* and *aclydes* (99) are. It is as if to Silius (3.277, 3.363) and VF these names merely serve to give a glimmer of epic colouring. Fordyce *ad A.* 7.730 observes: 'Silius and Valerius Flaccus take the word (*aclydes)* over from Vergil and reveal their ignorance about the weapon when one makes it Spanish and the other Oriental'. To add to the long explanations of Spaltenstein *ad* Sil. 3.363 would be superfluous.

**84 linquitur ... linquitur** cf. Luc. 3.197 *linquitur Haemus*, Verg. *A.* 7.675f. *Centauri ... Othrymque nivalem/ linquentes* (both in catalogues). In the background are words such as λιπών, κάλλιπε in the catalogue of ARh, where single people leave their land, and it is an example of *Steigerung* when *all* men abandon their land, as seems the case with

these rivers and mountains (symbolized in the anaphora), resulting in *deseritur* in Luc. 3.199, 225 (not in VF).

**abruptus** appropriate when applied to a 'broken', that is, very steep rock; of a river ('fast descending') very bold. *pelago* must be a dative of direction. The *abruptum flumen* of Germ. *Arat.* 48 refers to a portion only of a river that, accordingly, is called 'broken'.

**Tyra** cf. Plin. *Nat.* 4.82, Mela 2.7 *hos ab Histricis Tyra separat*, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τύρας (see below). Langen refers to GIG 2059 which mentions Τύρα as a town in the neighbourhood of Olbia, apparently on the river of the same name (the Djnestr) that is also mentioned in Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.50 *et nullo tardior amne Tyras* where Ovid apparently wishes to say that it is a rapid stream.

**85 Ambenus** the Suda mentions Ἄμβεναι· ὄνομα πόλεως. From *mons Ambenus* the name Ambenus is derived, see 251.

**gelidis ... venenis** *gelidus*, 'cold-making', of death in Hor. *Carm.* 2.8.10 f., Ov. *Am.* 2.9.41, of deadly *cicuta* in Ov. *Am.* 3.7.13, in Sen. *Med.* 736 of *glacies*, in Claud. 46(*Carm. min.* 49).5 of the *torpedo*, of *metus*, *terror*, *formido* in Ovid (*Ep.* 11.82, *Met.* 3.100, 2.200, respectively).

**pollens** in relation to herbs and witchcraft also in Luc. 6.685 *vox cunctis pollentior herbis*; of herbs in Ov. *Met.* 7.196 (Medea at work), *Fast.* 2.425; of venom in Luc. 9.795 *pollente veneno.*

**Ophiusa** old name for a town on the Tyra; cf. Scylax 68, Strabo C306=7.3.16, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τύρας, πόλις καὶ ποταμός ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ ... ἐκαλεῖτο δ' Ὀφιοῦσσα, Plin. *Nat.* 4.82 *oppido ... ubi antea Ophiusa dicebatur.* A word-play is involved, because in ethnographical descriptions mysterious wizardry is never far away, and if there are ever poisons, it must be in Snake City.

**86 degeneres ... Sindi** cf. Liv. 25.40.12 *Muttinem sibi modum facere, degenerem Afrum imperatori Carthaginiensi?* The *Sindi* are mentioned in ARh. 4.322 as well as Strabo 11.2.10 = C495; their ways of dealing with the children their blind(ed) slaves fathered to their wives are described in Herodot. 4.1 ff., followed by Iustin. 2.5 and referred to in Claud. 18(*Eutr.1*).508 ff. Plin. *Nat.* 4.80 speaks of *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti.* The word *degeneres* may point to the use of a common source for VF and Pliny (cf. 67, 107, 121, 148, 153 nn. or Wijsman *ad* VF 5.582). For Statius' use of Pliny as a source see Smolenaars 122.

**ruunt** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.271, Luc. 3.179 (in the catalogues).

**glomerantque (turmas)** cf. Sil. 3.225 *glomeravit turmas*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.585 (*glomerantur ...) Ogygidae.*

**87 crimine metuentes verbera** according to Herodotus (*l.c.*) first the slaves were fought with arms; then it was decided λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἆσσον αὐτῶν; 'Claud. *l.c.* 511 *aciem fudere flagellis*'. They fled.

*

hos super aeratam Phalces agit aequore nubem
cum fremitu densique levant vexilla Coralli
barbaricae quis signa rotae ferrataque dorso
forma suum truncaeque, Iovis simulacra, columnae.
proelia nec rauco curant incendere cornu
indigenas sed rite duces et prisca suorum
facta canunt veterumque, viris hortamina, laudes.

**88 hos super** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.803 (in a catalogue) *hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla.* On postposition Langen has an extensive note *ad* 1.151, where three more instances involving *super* are listed.

**aeratam ... nubem** cf. Sil. 8.404 *Tullius aeratas raptabat in agmina turmas.* For *nubem*, *pubem* has been conjectured by Heinsius. *nubem* may depict the dust raised by the advance of their armed forces.

**Phalces** in Homer the name of a Trojan, 13.791, 14.513. To a certain extent the association with *falx* may play a rôle (cf. 104 f.), the *aeratam nubem* referring to troops with scimitars.

**agit** cf. (in catalogues) Stat. *Theb.* 7.278, 354; Sil. 3.298, 338, 354[9]. Not in Vergil, VF seems to be the first. *agit aequore* here can hardly mean anything but 'leads over the plain' (Mozley), but in 163 it is rather 'blows on a (wide) sea', and in 569 'chases from the field' (Mozley). These ablatives are dubbed of 'extension' or of 'area over which' by Harrison *ad* Verg. *A.* 10.540; the separative element in VF 6.569, however, seems clear.

**89 cum fremitu** cf. Sil. 5.446 (Othrys), 9.554 (Mars leaving the battle).

---

[9] At first sight this seems an instance of 'numerical allusion' to the *Thebaid* in the sense of Liberman (XLVI). However *Theb.* 7.354 *Iphitus asper agit.* seems quite different from Sil. 3.354 *hos Viriathus agit*, so probably there is no borrowing involved.

**vexilla** once (here) in VF, 8 times in Stat. *Theb.*, twice in Sil., not in Vergil, Ovid, Lucan.

**Coralli** cf. Strabo 7.5.12 = C318 οἱ περὶ τὸ Αἷμον ... Κόραλλοι .... πάντα μὲν ταῦτα λῃστρικώτατα ἔθνη, Ov. *Pont.* 4.2.37 *cui recitem nisi flavis scripta Corallis*, 4.8.83 *litora pellitis nimium subiecta Corallis.*

**90 barbaricae ... rotae** the wheels under their wagons, see 83 *temone.* The anonymous illustrator mentioned in 134 n. who designed the frontispiece for the present book shows the wheels on the banners.

**quis** = *quibus*, as in 35.

**ferrataque dorso** either 'mail-clad on the back' or 'with iron points on the back' or, rather, 'iron-like points'. Cf. for the first interpretation Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.30 *ut barbarorum Claudius* (=Tiberius) *agmina/ ferrata vasto diruit impetu*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.499 *ferrato pectore*, for the second Verg. *A.* 5.208 *ferratasque trudes*, 11.714 *ferrata calce*, *G.* 3.399 *ferratis capistris*, Liv. 1.32.12 *hastam ferratam.*

**91 (ferrataque dorso) forma suum** Maserius thought of a porcupine, because Herodot. 4.63 states that no swine offerings are known to the Scythians, nor do they rear them. As to the *vexilla*, compare Plin. *Nat.* 10.16 *Romanis eam* (the eagle) *legionibus C.Marius in secundo consulatu suo proprie dicant. erat et antea prima cum IV aliis: lupi, minotauri, equi aprique singulos ordines anteibant; paucis ante annis sola in aciem portari coepta erat, reliqua in castris relinquebatur; Marius in totum ea abdicavit.* Therefore a boar is not as impossible as Maserius suggested, even giving an archaic flavour; the *hystrix*, however, would be the perfect emblem of barbarism. Its iron-like points on the back can well be implied in *ferrata dorso forma.*

**truncaeque, Iovis simulacra, columnae** Mozley thinks these 'must be herms, short pillars with an effigy at the top'; yet, such an effigy on a standard must have been minute indeed. Therefore I prefer to think of truncated columns, *i.e.*, trees mutilated, *viz.* by lightning, Jove's emblem.

**92/94:** 'nor is their concern to kindle strife with the raucous horn, but solemly they sing of their native heroes and the former feats of their people, praising their ancestors, which is what stimulates the soldiers'.

**92 proelia incendere cornu** cf. Verg. *A.* 6.165 *Martemque accendere cantu*; Dictys Cretensis (AD 4th century) *proelium incenditur.*

**rauco ... cornu** for *raucus* compare Verg. *G.* 4.71 *Martius ille aeris rauci canor*, *A.* 2.545 *rauco ...aere*, 7.615 *aeraque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco* (describing the Italian rising against Aeneas), 11.474 f. *bello dat signum rauca cruentum/ bucina.* Can there be direct influence here of Lucan in view of the same combination in Luc. 1.238 *rauco ... cornu* (Caesar starting the civil war, just as Mars here starts the war between *brothers*)?

**93 indigenas** *indigena* attributively used, as in Verg. *A.* 12.823 *ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos*, 8.314 *indigenae Fauni*, VF 6.294 *indigenis ... aquis* (in Colchis), Sil. 3.104 *indigenis ... in oris* (in Spain).

**rite** 'in the proper way, with due veneration'; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.5 *exsequiis ... rite solutis*, 8.60 *Iunoni fer rite preces*, VF 5.99.

**prisca (facta)** cf. Liv. 2.32.8 *prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, Hor. *Saec.* 57.f *iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque priscus et neglecta redire Virtus.*

**94 (duces et .../) facta canunt** cf. 1.11 f., 6.512 *patrium ... paeana*, Verg. *Ecl.* 4.54 = 8.8 *tua dicere facta*, *A.* 10.281 f. *nunc magna referto/ facta, patrum laudes*, Tac. *Ger.* 3 *ituri in proelia canunt*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.285 *patriis concentibus* with Smolenaars. In Vergil's catalogue cf. *A.* 7.698 *regemque canebant.* In Sil. 3.346 Galicians like singing, in 8.420 Sabines sing while marching, Liv. 21.28.1 *Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque, moris sui.* Tacitus gives in *Ann.* 2.88.3 an unforgettable picture of Arminius, *liberator haud dubie Germaniae*, as follows: *caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes.*

**veterumque ... laudes** after *prisca facta* the word *veteres* should not cause surprise; cf. 141 *veterum tenor*, Verg. *A.* 8.600 f. *Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos ...deo lucumque diemque*, Ov. Fast. 3.99 *nec totidem veteres quot nunc habuere Kalendas.*

**viris hortamina** the unusual word *hortamen* is attested in Ov. *Met.* 1.277, Luc. 7.736, Stat. *Theb.* 8.157 *nulloque ... hortamine parent* and, in a similar ethnographical context, Tac. *Ger.* 7.2 *illae (= matres, coniuges) hortamina pugnantibus gestant.*

*

95. ast ubi Sidonicas inter pedes aequat habenas
96. illinc iuratos in se trahit Aea Batarnas,
97. quos duce Teutagono crudi mora corticis armat
98. aequaque nec ferro brevior nec rumpia ligno.

99. nec procul albentes gemina ferit aclyde parmas
100. hiberni qui terga Novae gelidumque securi
101. eruit et tota non audit Alazona ripa.

**95** construe as: *ubi pedes (inter habenas) aequat Sidonicas habenas, illinc ...*: '<from the region> where infantry soldiers, positioned between the horses, move forward as fast as the Sidonian cavalry, from there ...'. Langen's alteration *pernix* for *inter* certainly smoothes the Latin, but is not indispensable. *inter* is very loosely used, nearly an adverb, in the manner of Valerius: TLL *s.v.* observes that adverbial *inter* is not found except in VF (see 220 n.).

**ast** before a vowel as always; see Poortvliet *ad* 2.239. In the note of Wijsman *ad* 5.371 it should have been stated that *ast* is in *all* instances preceded by a vowel. In Book 6 also in lines 197, 333, 503.

**Sidonicas** alluding to the Σιδόνες, a sub-tribe of the Bastarnae (see below); cf. Strabo 7.3.17 (=C306).

**pedes aequat habenas** a model may have been found in Caes. *Gal.* 1.48.5-7 *equitum milia erant sex; ... pedites ... cum his in proeliis versabantur; ad eos se equites recipiebant; hi (=pedites) si quid erat durius concurrebant,...; tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut iubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent.* For *aequare* cf. Verg. *A.* 10.248 *ocior ... ventos aequante sagitta*; here with 'as to speed' to be supplied. OLD10c gives for 'to keep pace with' as examples Verg. *A.* 6.263 *ille ducem haud timidis vadentem passibus aequat*, Curt. 4.1.2 *deficientibus equis cursum eorum quos rex subinde mutabat aequare non poterant*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.18.2 *quos multi ... quamquam raptim ductos aequabant. habena* as metonymy for 'horse' according to TLL 6.3.2392.69 ff. also in Sil. 4.315 *versis ... habenis*, Claud. 3(*Ruf.I*).263. — That Romans also knew these particular tactics appears from Tac. *Hist.* 3.79.1 *interiectus equiti pedes.*

**96 Batarnas** (*Baternas* **C**). Heeren 60 gives a long digression implying that for metrical reasons VF has changed the name *Bastarnae* (Strabo 7.3.17 = C306). These formed a tribe living around the mouths of the Danube, occasionally spelled as *Basternae*; cf. Liv. 40.57.2, Plin. *Nat.* 4.100 *quinta pars* (of the Germani) *Peucini, Basternae supra dictis contermini Dacis*, 4.81 *a Maro, sive Duria est a Suebis regnoque Vanniano diremens eos, aversa Basternae tenent aliique inde Germani*, Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 12 Βαστέρναι, Tac. *Ger.* 46 *Peucini quos quidam Bastarnas vocant sermone cultu sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agant*, *Ann.* 2.65.4 *bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque. Bastarnae* figure in an

Italian inscription on the via Tiburtina CIL 14.3608 quoted in Nisbet 1995:305.

**97 f.** 'these, under the leadership of T., armed with the delay brought about by raw bark arms, and a fitting Thracian spear, not of a short type in its steel parts nor in its wooden parts'.

**97 quos duce Teutagono crudi mora corticis armat** it does not seem far-fetched to think of Verg. *A.* 7.741 f. *Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias;/ tegmina quis capitum raptus de subere cortex* where *cateias* are used *Teutonico ritu.* Here we are close to the *aclydes* of line 99. It is as if VF is preparing a mixture of epic ingredients taken from Vergil. On the other hand Heeren 61 astutely concludes that names with *teuto-* are Germanic or Gallic, with *teuta-* Greek.

**crudi mora corticis** cf. the rustic army of Caenulus in Verg. *A.* 7.688 with their *fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros,* or the men of Amphion in Stat. *Theb.* 7.277 *arborei dant scuta sinus* (also in the catalogue). The expression is probably derived from *loricaeque moras* in Verg. *A.* 10.485. For the shields of bark compare Caes. *Gal.* 2.33.2 *scutis ex corte factis aut viminibus intextis,* for the delay Ov. *Met.* 12.95 ff. *telum ... quod rupit/ terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.*

**98 nec ferro brevior nec ligno** ablatives of respect going with *nec brevior,* 'not shorter with respect to the stem or the steel'. The *rumpia* is *aequa,* and probably held in the middle.

**rumpia** (ῥομφαία) a long Thracian spear; cf. Liv. 31.39.11, Gel. 10.25.4 *rumpia genus teli est Thraecae nationis,* with Skutsch *ad* Enn. *Ann.* S381= V390.

**99 nec procul** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.537 *nec procul Haemonides* (cf. 114 n).

**aclyde** cf. 83 n.

**100 hiberni ... Novae** cf. 4.719 *Tanais flavusque Tyres Hypanisque Novasque.* Apparently the reference is to an Ukrainian river. Heeren 48 distils from various obscure sources the existence of a river Nais, possibly the same. Liberman 283 refers to Herodot. 4.49, Νόης, a Thracian tributary of the Danube. However, E. Oberhummer in RE 17.810 *s.v.,* thinks of some more northern tributary.

**qui terga Novae ... securi (eruit)** cf. Claud. 3(*Ruf.1*).312 *caesamque bibens Maeotin Alanus,* Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.25 f. *quid loquar ut vincti con-*

*crescant frigore rivi/ deque lacu fragiles effodiantur aquae?* For *tergum* of a frozen river cf. Verg. *G.* 3.360 f. *concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae/ undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbis*, Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.80 *dura meant celeri terga per amnis equo.* The frozen river or sea is a commonplace where Scythia is concerned; cf. Luc. 2.641 *pigra palus Scythici patiens Maeotia plaustri*, 5.441 *orbita migrantis scindit Maeotida Bessi.* See also 568 nn.

**101 eruit** the normal use is for digging, as in 6.131 or 5.145.

**(gelidum) ... et Alazona** TLL s.v. takes *gelidum* as a neuter substantive, the equivalent of "*glacies*"; I feel it is more attractive to consider it an adjective going with *Alazona*. For examples of a conjunction separating adjective and substantive or, more often, substantives in apposition, see 430 n. — On the cleaving of ice cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.525 f. *bipennes/ quis nemora et solidam Maeotida caedere suetae.* The Alazon is a tributary of the Cyris; cf. Heeren 28, Strabo C500=11.3.2 ᾿Αλαζόνιος, Plin. *Nat.* 6.29 *Albanorum gens ..., mox Hiberes, discreta ab his amne Alazone in Cyrum Caucasis montibus defluente.*

*

102. ... quosque Taras niveumque ferax Euarchus olorum...
103. te quoque venturis, ingens Ariasmene, saeclis
104. tradiderim, molem belli lateque ferentem
105. undique falcatos deserta per aequora currus.
106. insequitur Drangea phalanx claustrisque profusi
107. Caspiadae, quis turba canum non segnius acres
108. exsilit ad lituos pugnasque capessit eriles.

**102** An isolated verse, without any relation to the preceding or following one. The suggestion of Caussin is to transpose it to 67/68, where the accusative *quos* would fit, as it does not in its location in the Mss. However, there even more than here the names, so far as we understand them, seem out of place.

**Taras** (*Tarax* **C**): the little river on which Tarentum was built is called *Taras*, but it seems far off. See further below.

**niveumque ... olorum** *niveum* as genitive plural is according to OLD a unique use. On such archaic genetives see 49 n.

**ferax Euarchus olorum** a river near Sinope not situated on the same side of the Pontus as most of the tribes mentioned, but on the opposite side; so again interpretation is difficult. However, a play of words may be involved. Burman pointed to the *Magnum Etymologicum*,

where under Εὐάρχος is the following entry: οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ Κύκνος δὶα τὸ ἐπιτυχῶς καινίσαι τὸ δόρυ τοῦ 'Αχιλλέως. Cycnus is changed into a swan. The text goes on: φασι δὲ καὶ ποταμόν τινα παρὰ τὴν Σινώπην Εὐάρχον ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αργοναυτῶν προσηγορεῦσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον ἔπιον, ὥς φησιν Εὐφορίων: (there follows *frgm.* 84 v.Gr.). The little river Euarchus can be a synonym of Cycnus the swan; this Cycnus is a son of Poseidon, whose story is found in Ov. *Met.* 12.64 ff. Now *Taras* is also a son of Poseidon (Paus. 10.10.8); VF may have found the names together in some scholia of ARh's *Argonautica* now lost. Even so, things must have been mixed up geographically. An *albus olor ad vada Meandri* occurs in Ov. *Ep.* 7.2.

**103 te quoque** several times in Vergil: in the list of Trojans *A.* 10.139 *te quoque ..., Ismare* (with Harrison). Cf. in the catalogue *A.* 7.744 *et te (Ufens)*, 10.185 f. *te, Cunare.* Other instances do not come very close to the present use; *A.* 12.542 from a battle scene is not far. Compare further Stat. *Theb.* 7.340 *tu quoque ..., Cephise*, Sil. 3.287 *vos quoque* (from catalogues). See 317 n. *(te quoque, Canthe).*

**venturis ... saeclis** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.52 *venturo ... saeclo*; Tac. *Ag.* 46.4 *Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.*

**Ariasmene** Heeren 15 gives a list of names beginning with *Aria-*. I consider it likely that they ultimately derive from Aria, present day *Iran*, both names derived from root **air-*, meaning *Arian.* Cf. *Arius*, Luc. 3.281. The emotional colour of the apostrophe can be regarded as a prophecy of his death in a scene of doom in 423; cf. the apostrophe of Canthus in 317, 346 or of Caicus in 688.

**104 (te quoque ...) tradiderim** sounds like Verg. *G.* 2.101 f., *A.* 10.185 f. *non ego te.../ transierim.*

**molem belli** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.199 *vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat* (Cacus); 3.656 f. *vasta se mole moventem/ pastorem Polyphemum.* Poetic *moles belli* can perhaps be compared with *pars belli haud temnenda* (Verg. *A.* 10.737).

**ferentem etc.** 'bringing with him his chariots in a broad front over deserted plains, the chariot having sickles on all sides'.

**105 falcatos** cf. Lucr. 3.650 *inter equos abstraxe rotas falcesque rapaces*, Liv. 37.40.12 *falcatae quadrigae*, Mela 3.52 *falcatis axibus utuntur* (*Britanni*), Stat. *Theb.* 10.544 and 7.712 *falcato curru* (with Smolenaars), Curt. 4.15.3 *ipse (Dareus) ante se falcatos currus habebat.*

**106 insequitur** not 'there follows' (Mozley), but 'him follow', in view of the demise of Ariasmenus in 386-426 followed by 507 *Drangeaque legio.*

**Drangea** ed. 1503, *drancea* **V+L**, *drancaea* **C**, Schenkl, Mozley, Bury; *drangea (drancea)* according to Housman *J.P.* 33 (1914) 67,[10] who formulated the rule that in Greek only feminine words in -α have an adjective in -αιος, all others in -ειος, becoming *-eos* or *-ios* in Latin. Compare 6.507 where Housman let stand the alternative Latin spelling *drangia (drancia)*. The Drangae were a tribe living in central Iran and mentioned by Strabo 15.2.8 = C723, Plin. *Nat.* 6.61, 94.

**claustrisque** on the Caspian passes cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.124, Tac. *Hist.* 1.6.2.

**profusi** cf. 3.3 f. *urbe profusi/ Aenidae.*

**107 Caspiadae** also called Caspiani (Mela 1.12) or Caspi (Plin. *Nat.* 6.39). Heeren 33 refers to Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 1.490 *Amazonidum autem derivatio est pro principalitate, sicut Scipiadas duros bello pro Scipionibus.*

**quis** *e quibus* (35 n.); *quis* must crefer to the Caspian gates and be ablative with *exilire.*

**turba canum** Heeren 33 ff. has a long discussion against Langen, who referred to the fighting dogs of the people of Colophon and Castubalis (in Lydia and Cilicia) in Plin. Nat. 8.143 (see 112 n. *cohors*), but who believed VF's dogs of the Caspian people were his own invention. Heeren, however, quotes Strabo C502=11.4.5 on the quality of the dogs of the Albani as well as several references to the excellent dogs of the Hyrcani (that is, for hunting). The latter tribe is often mentioned in combination with the Caspians, *e.g.* in the mention of their regions in Steph. Byz. λέγεται καὶ Ὑρκανία ἡ Κασπία.

Now VF has the dogs not only used in fighting (as in Aelian *Hist. Anim.* 7.38 Ὑρκανοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν οἱ κύνες συνεστρατεύοντο), but also taken into their masters' graves (vv. 109 ff.). Cic. Tusc. 1.108 and Sil. 13.473 f. *regia cum lucem posuerunt membra, probatum est/ Hyrcanis adhibere canes* refer to abandoning corpses to the dogs, as they were to the vultures in Bactria, and Heeren thinks VF has from feelings of delicacy made the change from the custom of throwing the deceased to the dogs (and the vultures) to honouring the dogs posthumously. Heeren supposes that the *horses* in paradise in Verg. *A.* 6.657 ff. may have inspired a similar honour for the dogs.

---

[10] = *The classical papers of A.E.Housman*, vol. II (1972) 896.

However, it is easier to suppose that VF's inspiration came from a source like the one behind Plin. *Nat.* 8.143 <*canis Hyrcanus*> *accenso regis Lysimachi rogo iniecit se flammae, similiterque Hieronis regis.* (For Pliny and VF sharing a common source see 86 n.). A likely source is Hom. *Il.* 23.173 (on the pyre of Patroclus) ἐννέα τῷ γε, ἄνακτι, τραπεζῆες κύνες ἦσαν· / καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας (together with captives and horses).—Anyhow, the great Frederick II, King of Prussia, lies buried (since 1991) at Sanssouci in the midst of his beloved dogs.

**non segnius** see 290 n.

**108 (acres) ad lituos** cf. in a martial context 5.654 *lituos ... armaque*, 6.180 *ad sonitum litui.*

**pugnasque capessit** they 'engage in the fighting'; cf. Liv. 40.32.3 *capessunt pugnam*, Curt. 4.6.25 *proelium capessebat*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.30.1 *pugnam manu capessiit*, Juv. 14.242 *horrida bella capessunt.*

**eriles** used of an animal's master also in Verg. *A.* 7.490, 8.462, Ov. *Met.* 3.140, VF 6.413, 7.124, Stat. *Ach.* 1.246, Sil. 13.121. In 124 the word will be used in connexion with a *lancea.*

*

109. inde etiam par mortis honos tumulisque recepti
110. inter avos positusque virum. nam pectora ferro
111. terribilesque innexa iubas ruit agmine nigro
112. latratuque cohors quanto sonat horrida Ditis
113. ianua vel superas Hecates comitatus in auras.

**109 inde** 'accordingly'; the temporal component is lacking. Normally there is an element of *post ergo propter*; cf., however, Ov. *Am.* 3.8.55 f. *dat census honores;/ inde gravis iudex*, Luc. 10.228 *inde etiam leges aliarum nescit aquarum* (the Nile), Stat. *Theb.* 9.842 *sanguinis auctor turbidus Orion, ... inde furit.*

**par mortis honos** see above 107 n. *turba canum.*

**tumulisque recepti** in the famous Scythian 'kurgans'.

**110 inter avos** *avus* as 'ancestor', as is often the case when qualified by *veteres.* Some parallels (from TLL 2.1611.73) are Verg. *A.* 6.840 *ultus avos Troiae*, 7.219 f. *Iove dardana pubes/ gaudet avo*, Tib. 2.1.2, Sil.1.73. In Ov. *Met.* 15.425 the *tumuli* are mentioned: *et pro divitiis* (of Troy) *tumulos ostendit avorum.*

**positus** 'buried bodies', a unique sense (OLD), but derived from expressions such as those quoted by Wijsman *ad* 5.11.

**nam** *iam* Langen (followed by Mozley) is not properly motivated; *nam* Mss. seems to explain *inde* again by repeating the content of 106/108, which is inelegant, yet not sufficiently so to warrant emendation.

**111 (pectora ferro)/ -que ... innexa iubas** 'mail-clad as to breast and neck'; compare Verg. *A.* 6.281 *crinem vittis innexa cruentis (Discordia)*, Claud. 28(*VI Cos.Hon.*).378 *comas innexus harundine Triton.*

**iubas** their 'manes' 'intertwined with iron' (Mozley) give them the characteristics of a lion! To speak of *iubae* is unusual for a dog; it can apply to a hyaena, as in Plin. *Nat.* 8.105 *hyaenis ...; collum et iuba unitate spinae porrigitur.*

**agmine nigro** black dogs, but possibly with overtones of Verg. *A.* 12.450 *atrum ... agmen*, Hom. *Il.* 4.281 f. φάλαγγες/ κυάνεαι (mourning-inducing; see 522 n.). Shelton 335 thinks the military terms *iubas*, *agmine*, *cohors* applied to these dogs are significant.

**112 cohors** sc. *canum*, as in Plin. *Nat.* 8.143 *Colophonii itemque Castabalenses cohortes canum habuere. hae primae dimicabant in acie.*

**quanto** a simile (the first in the book) comparing real dogs with Cerberus and those of Hecate, introducing an idea of death and fate, and at the same time alluding to Medea as a priestess of Hecate.

**sonat ... (ianua)** the gate reverberates with the barking of Cerberus; *ianua* nearly becomes *ianitor* (cf. *ianitor Orci* Verg. *A.* 8.296, Stat. *Theb.* 2.54 f. *Letique ... triformis/ ianitor*), *i.e.* howling Cerberus. *sonare* stands for *resonare*, as in Ov. *Met.* 12.46 f. where in Fama's palace *tota est ex aere sonanti; tota fremit vocesque refert iteratque quod audit.*

**113 (Ditis) ianua** cf. Verg. *G.* 4.467 *alta ostia Ditis.*

**superas ... in auras** *aulas* **V+L**; *auras* **C**, Pius. Compare Verg. *A.* 7.768 *superas ... sub auras.*

**Hecates comitatus** *(sc. canes)*: cf. ARh 3.1216 f. (Ἑκάτη) ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε / ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο, Tib. 1.2.52 *(Medea) sola feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes*, Sen. *Oed.* 569 *latravit Hecates turba* (at the doors of Dis); hellish dogs also in Verg. *A.* 6.257, Hor. *S.* 1.8.35, Luc. 6.733. On Hecate cf. Bömer *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.141. For *comitatus* cf. Verg. *A.* 12.336 *Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus.*

*

114. ducit ab Hyrcanis vates sacer agmina lucis
115. Vanus, eum Scythiae iam tertia viderat aetas
116. magnanimos Minyas Argoaque vela canentem.
117. illius et dites monitis spondentibus Indi
118. et centumgeminae Lagea novalia Thebes
119. totaque Rhipaeo Panchaia rapta triumpho.
120. discolor hastatas effudit Hiberia turmas,
121. quas Otaces, quas Latris agunt, et raptor amorum
122. Neurus et expertes canentis Iazyges aevi.

**114 ducit ... agmina** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.652, Stat. *Theb.* 7.330, Sil. 3.262, 8.383 (in the catalogues).

**Hyrcanis ... lucis** For the *Hyrcani* cf.79; cf. Sen. *Phaedr.* 70 *Hyrcani ... saltus.*

**vates sacer** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.537 *Haemonides* (see 64 n.) with his *sacra vitta*, but stumbling, not even trying to escape being killed by showing them to Aeneas.

**115 Vanus** a *vates sacer* may have been created on the analogy of Amphiaraus. At the time the name of Vannius, king of the Suebians (Tac. *Ann.* 2.63, expelled in *Ann.* 12.29; his sister's sons joined the civil strife of AD 69 according to Plin. *Nat.* 4.81 quoted in 96 n.) must have been well-known; one wonders with Heeren 16 whether Vannius has been changed into Vanus *metri causa* — possibly creating a chance to label such prophecies in general as *vana*, even if this one came true.

**tertia viderat aetas** *aetas* **C**; *aestas* **V+L**. Possibly in fact both readings were in the author's head; cf. Ov. Met 12.188 *nunc tertia vivitur aetas*; Verg. *A.* 1.265 *tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas.* Shelton 336 stresses that this is the second indication that the expedition to Colchis was already known to the locals as something fated, after the pictures in the temple of Sol (5.415-454).

**116 magnanimos** an epicism based upon μεγάθυμος, in place in 3.243 for the Argonauts as here, applied to Hercules (1.634), Meleager (3.646), Jason (7.556) or Aeneas (Verg. *A.* 3.704), but also to persons of lesser stature, as in 637, where it gives some more weight to the adversaries of Colaxes, son of Jupiter. *magnanimus* is also related to μεγαλόψυχος (Aristot. *Eth. Nicomach.* IV.3.1-35), in sense close to 'valorous' as defined by Cic. *Tusc.* 3.15 *praeterea necesse est, qui fortis sit, eundem*

*esse magni animi; qui autem magni animi sit, invictum.*

**Argoaque vela** the adjective first found in Prop. 3.22.13 *qua rudis Argoa natat inter saxa columba*; also in VF 8.328 *Argoaque vela*, 3.3 *Argoa manus* ('the shipmates'), 6.731 *Argoa ... auxilia*, 'assistance in the form of the ship Argo'. Compare also Hor. *Epod.* 16.57 *non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus.*

**117 illius ... monitis spondentibus** 'by his prophetic warnings'. *monita*, 'warnings', are found in, *e.g.*, Verg. *A.* 4.331, Prop. 1.1.37, Ov. *Tr.* 4.6.7 *quaeque sui monitis obtemperat Inda magistri/ belua*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.68.3.

**dites ... Indi** Plin. *Nat.6* makes clear the degree to which India was known at the time and known to be rich, as conventionally the East was since Alexander.

**118 centumgeminae ... Thebes** cf. Homer Il. 9.381 ff. οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας/ Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται/ αἵ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοι εἰσι. This is an instance of direct reference to Homer, because the adjective is otherwise only used (TLL *s.v.*) in Verg. *A.* 6.287 for hundred-headed Briareus, and in Claud. *Rapt.* 3.345 for the giant Aegaeon.

**Lagea** a *coniectura palmata* of Gronovius for *Lagae* **V+L**, even better than *longaeva* **C**. Compare Luc. 8.692, 10.394. From Ptolemaeus Lagus, father of Soter and ancestor of the Egyptian Ptolemies.

**novalia** metonymy, 'the crops of the land', as in Juv. 14.148 f. *tota novalia saevos/ in ventres abeant.* VF in 7.77 uses the feminine form *novales.*

**119 Rhipaeo** see 33 n.

**Panchaia** an island in the Indian Ocean (Konrat Ziegler, *RE* 18.1.493 57 ff.), even happier than Arabia; home of the Phoenix in Plin. *Nat.* 10.5, and mentioned (by name only) by Strabo and Mela. Used for 'Arabia' in, *e.g.*, Verg. *G.* 2.139 *totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis*, Lygd. [Tib.] 3.2.23 *dives Panchaia* (with Antolín), Ov. *Met.* 10.309 *tura ferat floresque alios Panchaia tellus.*

**rapta triumpho** on the predilection for *rapere* of the silver Latin poets see Wijsman *ad* 5.41, Langen *ad* 1.254.

**120 discolor ... Hiberia** Heeren 45 refers to Strabo C500 = 11.3.3. where differences in dress of the Hiberians are mentioned. For

*Hiberia* (= Georgia) cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.166. Perhaps the word just depicts the variety of 'barbarian' dress.

**hastatas ... turmas** rarely used as an adjective (TLL 6.3.2556.42 ff.), as in Ov. *Fast.* 3.127 f. *orbes ... hastatos* ("*i.e. manipulos*"), Tac. *Ann.* 2.14.3 *aciem hastatam.*

**121 Otaces** a Persian-sounding name in view of several people with the name Otanes in Herodot. 3.68 ff., 5.25 ff., 7.40 ff. See also 529 n.

**Latris** Heeren 73 supposes the name derived from a *chorographia* of about mid-first century AD, used by VF as well as by Pliny, in view of *Nat.* 4.97 *insulam Latrim.* See 86 n.

**raptor amorum** an allusion to getting a bride by abducting her, a primitive and barbaric trait, as in the case of the Sabine maidens; see Frazer *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 3.199 f. (*raptae* 203). Compare further Sen. *Phaed.* 726 *nefandi raptor Hippolytus stupri.* Langen quotes several instances where *amores* is used for *loved ones,* among these VF 2.549, Ov. *Ep.* 15.155, Catul. 40.7. In Stat. *Ach.* 1.671 *raptumque pudorem* simply stands for 'rape'.

**122 Neurus** the name (going with *raptor*) of another of those southern Russian tribes mentioned by Herodotus (4.17, 4.100, 102, 105, 125) as living in the far north, around the sources of the Borysthenes (Dnjepr) and Hypanis (Bug). Plin. *Nat.* 4.88 and Mela 2.14 ascribe magic powers to them: *si velint in lupos iterumque in eos qui fuere mutantur.* Amm. 31.2.14 calls them *Nervi.*

**Iazyges** the Iazygian Sarmatians lived between the Don and the Dnjepr according to Strabo C306 = 7.3.17, Tac. Ann. 12.29.3 (the passage mentioning Vannius). Herodot. 1.216 says of the Massagetae ἐτεὰν δὲ γέρων γέννηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσι μιν. This theme is taken up again by VF in 6.282, 289-291, 308 f. in connection with the Iazyges. It is an ethnographical topos, also found in Sext. Empyr. *Pyrrh.* 3.210 (οἱ Σκύθαι δὲ ὑπερ τὰ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γενομένους αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάττουσιν), Claud. 3(*Ruf.* 1).323 ff. (about the Huns *trans gelidum Tanain)*, Sil. 1.226 ff. (in Spain; there, as here, the thirst for gold is satirized), 3.326 ff. (on the Cantabri), Herodot. 3.99 (in India), Prud. *Symm.* 2.294 f. *praecipitet Scythica iuvenis pietate vietum/ votivo de ponte patrem (sic mos fuit olim).* Strabo relates how the Caspians have their elderly people starved, C520=11.11.8 Κάσπιοι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη λιμοκτονήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐρμίαν

ἐκτιθέασιν. — The names *Iazyges*, *Neurus*, *Latris*, *Otaces* and *Hiberia* are grammatically subject of *agunt*; it is small wonder that Langen inferred a hiatus before line 122, in view of the fact that the Neuri and the Iazyges are Ukrainian tribes that are unlikely to lead the people of Hiberia (present-day Georgia) to war. Yet, though bold, the sequence could fit the style of VF, something like 'Hiberia sent forth its regiments (under the lead of Otaces and Latris), joined by Neuri as well as Iazyges'.

**canentis** 'hoary', not often used, cf. Verg. *A.* 5.416 *canebat .. senectus*, 10.192 *canentem .. senectam.*

*

123. namque ubi iam vires gelidae notusque refutat
124. arcus et inceptus iam lancea temnit eriles
125. magnanimis mos ductus avis haud segnia mortis
126. iura pati, dextra sed carae occumbere prolis
127. ense dato, rumpuntque moras natusque parensque,
128. ambo animis, ambo miseri tam fortibus actis.

**123 namque** the only instance in Book 6, 18 times in VF which is certainly not much in comparison to the *Aeneid* (60 instances, Antolín 324) or Silius (63); 15 times in the *Thebaid.*

**vires gelidae <sunt>** a conjecture by Loehbach 1876:9 for *viresque aliae* **V+L**. However, *ubi viresque aliae notusque refutat arcus* requires *refutat* also to have the *vires* as subject, in view of the *-que -que* sequence. Therefore, emendation of the first *-que* seems indicated, with *<sunt>* to be supplied. Heinsius suggested several emendations: *effoetae, invalidae vires, vires cassae, quassae*; others are *vires aegrae* Baehrens, Mozley; Kramer *fort. lassae vel tardae.* Strand 110 defended *aliae* quoting Verg. *A.* 5.466 *non viris alias conversaque numina sentis? vires aliae* occurs also in VF 4.126 *iamiam aliae vires*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.373 f. *alias nova suggere vires, Calliope. alius* would be used in its sense of altered, lessened, comparable with the similar use of *haud idem* (= *non idem)*, as in the present book 6.463. Delz 1975:161 apparently conjectured *gelidae* independently, and cited some verses of Vergil, Statius and Silius for comparison. On the sinister connotations of *gelidus* see 85 n.

**notus** *notos* **C**, *motus* Heinsius, Schenkl, Baehrens, *ignotas* Peerlkamp, *notas* Köstlin, *nutus* Fr.Reuss.
Strand 111 reinforces Langen's defence of *notus*, quoting 2.418 ('the famous'), Verg. *A.* 12.759 ('his own'), 11.195 ('familiar'), Stat. *Theb.*

6.941 ('from where it came'), 9.580 ('that he recognised at once'); the bow is personified as a disobedient servant.

**refutat (arcus)** *inceptus* can be the object of both verbs, *et* co-ordinating them. Strand 111 defends *refutat* against *recusat* Langen, *resultat* Postgate, *refugit* codex Burm. He lists some combinations similar to '*refutat et temnit*'. *inceptus eriles* would be object to *refutat* (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *temnit*), for which cf. Cic. *Har.* 7 *eius conatum refutabo.* On ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in general see Sz. 834 f.

**124 temnit** *temnere* for *contemnere* (also in 5.127) is Lucretian style, used in poetry if only for metrical advantage (Norden *ad* Verg. *A.* 1.542), by Vergil only in speeches (Austin *ad loc.*). In prose only once, in an epically coloured context (Tac. *Hist.* 3.47.2, with *ductor*; for *ductor* see Wijsman *ad* 5.36).

**eriles** lends pathos; according to TLL 5.2.787.17 *erilis* is only very rarely applied to someone's possession; even more recherché in 6.706 *vitam ... erilem.*

**125 magnanimis** the word (see 116 n.) adds grandeur to the Stoic attitude described.

**mos ductus avis** (ablative) (*sc. est*): *ducere* normally goes with *a*, or *unde*, as in Verg. *A.* 5.568 *genus unde ... duxere*, Ov. *Met.* 5.494 *ab Elide ducimus ortus*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.445 *ductus ab aethere sanguis.* In fact, *ductus* is a conjecture by Pius for *dictus* **V+L**, retained only by Courtney and Kramer; the latter adds *intellego "edictus ab avis"*. It is true that the combination *ducti mores* occurs in Grat. *Cyneg.* 154 f. *mille canum patriae ductique ab origine mores/ quoique sua* and Porph. *Hor. Ep.* 1.18.33 "*sumet nova consilia et spes*". *Perturbabitur scil. et ex habitu mores ducet fietque delicatus.* However, Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.19 gives the useful clue *mos deductus.* I think that *ducere* = *deducere* is a better explanation than referring to TLL 5.1.2153.37 ff., which similarly construes *genus, initium, exordium, principium* with *ducere.* — For *avis* see 110 n.

**haud segnia mortis (iura pati)** *haud* going with *pati* instead of with *segnia*, which already results in a rather clumsy phrase; and *segnis* is a case of enallage, specifying *mors* rather than *ius.* The expression recalls 1.633 *segni flentes occumbere leto.* This particular habit of the Neuri and the Iazyges is according to Harmand 44 derived from Mela's story about the Hyperborean tribes that, when too old, deliberately throw themselves from a rock (Mela 3.37). VF will have modified this into a true Stoic attitude. For the influence of Mela upon the pre-

sent passage see in Mela 3.43 the mention of the Hyrcanian tiger (cf. VF 6.147 ff.), the use of the lasso in VF 132, the noise of the tambourines in VF 134.

**dextra sed carae occumbere prolis** to be taken up in 286.

**127 rumpuntque moras** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.43, *A.* 4.569, 9.13 *rumpe moras.*

**natusque parensque** on redundant *-que ... -que* see 21 n.

**128 ambo animis, ambo miseri V,L,C**; *miri* Damsté 1921: 386, defended by Courtney, *meriti tot* Koestlin, *mixti* Leo. "Langen's *ambo unanimes, ambo miserandi* is desperate" (Strand 112). Strand defended the Mss.'s *miseri*, taking *animis ... fortibus actis* concessively ('for all their courage, for all their powerful acts'). 'In a true heroic spirit they comply with the demands of their ancestral custom, but they do it sad at heart'. For the feeling he quotes Luc. 1.376 and Verg. *A.* 6.819-823 with Norden. *ambo miseri* occurs in Ov. *Met.* 4.692 (the parents of Andromeda). The wording recalls Verg. *A.* 11.291 *ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis*, and VF 7.653 *ambo truces, ambo abscessere minantes.* The sequence *natusque parensque, / ambo animis, ambo miseri* is strongly reminiscent of Stat. *Theb.* 11.35 f. *patrem puer aequat Alatreus: / felices ambo*, even if the sense is the opposite. The second *ambo* has long *-o* (Kösters 86).

*

129. hic et odorato spirantes crine Micelae
130. Cissaeaeque manus et qui tua iugera nondum
131. eruis, ignotis insons Arimaspe metallis,
132. doctus et Auchates patulo vaga vincula gyro
133. spargere et extremas laqueis adducere turmas.
134. non ego sanguineis gestantem tympana bellis
135. Thyrsageten cinctumque vagis post terga silebo
136. pellibus et nexas viridantem floribus hastas.

**129 hic et** referring to Domitian in Sil. 3.614; in a catalogue it is elsewhere only found in Sil. 8.431 ff. *hic et ... cernere erat.*

**odorato spirantes crine** the effeminate eastern ways are found on both sides; compare Aron (5.590, 6.524). 'The use of *spirare* as an equivalent in itself to *exhalare*, without *odorem*, is late; cf. Sil. 15.23, Mart. 11.8.1, Juv. 2.41, 6.463. For an intransitive use of *spirare*

with the ablative see Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.211' (Antolín 307). However, in Sil. 15.23 *odorem* is object to *spirare*, and in Mart. and Juv. words like *opobalsama* and *cinnama* take the place of *odorem*.

**Micelae** from **C** (*Mycael* **V+L**): printing *Micelae* does not solve the riddle of what is meant, but has manuscript authority, and is much better than the obviously medieval *Mycael*. An alteration to *Mycale*, site of the famous battle of 479 described in Herodot. 9.90 ff. is unlikely because of the short -α (cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.263). I doubt whether there is a connexion with the Bactrian tribe of the Μύκοι.

**130 Cissaeae** *Cesseeae* **V**, *Cessaeae* **L**. Langen (followed by Bury) emended to *Cossaeae*, on the basis of Strabo C524 = 11.13.6 and C744=16.1.17, Plin. 6.134, Diod. 17.111, who describe a tribe in Media. However, Heeren 36 prefers *Cissaeae*, basing himself upon Mela 1.13, Plin. *Nat.* 6.35 where the *Cissi* are found living north of the Caucasus mountains, neighbours of the Scythians. *Cissaeae* was proposed by Schrader in Haupt, *Hermes* 2.142, printed by Giarratano and mentioned in TLL *Onom.* 461.24.

**131 eruis** cf. VF 5.144 f. *nam prius ignoti quam dura cubilia ferri / eruerent*, Var. *L.* 5.136, Ov. *Fast.* 4.404 *tum primum soles eruta vidit humus* (in the same context as the search for iron).

**Arismaspe** Heeren 31 refers to Herodot. 4.13 and quotes in addition Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Ὑπερβόρειοι, Plin. 6.50, 4.88 *Maeotae, a quibus lacus nomen accepit, ultimique a tergo eorum Arimaspi. mox Riphaei montes.* VF is trying to tell us that these people do not yet know the power of gold; in later times Herodot. 3.116 informs us that they knew of gold, stealing it from griffins, and Lucan (3.280 f.) even writes *auroque ligatas / substringens, Arimaspe, comas* (and *dives ... Arimaspus* in 7.756). Heeren supposes that VF transfers to the Arimaspians the habits of the Satarchae (Mela 2.10 *auri ignari*); in general it is said of the Scythians (Just. 2.2.7) that *aurum et argentum perinde aspernantur.* Harmand refers to Mela 1.114, where people living between Bosphorus and Tanais use the lasso, among these the Ixamatae (144). Apparently VF did not wish to pass over the topos, while the Satarchae appear in his story in 6.145. — Pliny jeers at the 'first inventor' of a use for gold in *Nat.* 33.8 *pessimum vitae scelus fecit qui primus induit digitis <sc. aurum>*, 33.6 *utinamque posset e vita in totum abdicari!*

**insons metallis** for the ethnographic aspects of this see above and 145 n. *insons* may go with a genitive (as in Ov. *Met.* 13.149 *fraterni sanguinis insons)* or an ablative (as in Liv. 4.15.1 *si regni crimine insons fuerit).*

**132 Auchates** cf. Herodot. 4.6 τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἵ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται. As to their habit of using the lasso Herodot. 7.85 gives details about the Sagartii, a tribe of Persians, while Pausanias 1.21.5 relates the same of the Sauromatians: καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὁπόσοις ἐπιτύχοιεν. They were still mentioned in VF's time according to Plin. *Nat.* 6.22 *Scythas Auchetas.*

**patulo** 'wide', as in Prop. 3.16.4 *in patulos ... lacus*, Luc. 4.743 *patulis ... arvis.*

**133 (vincula) spargere** Kleywegt 1986:2471 regards this expression as an extension of *tela spargere*; compare 6.193 *vulnera spargere.*

**extremas laqueis adducere turmas** they are able to catch even the farthest away (*extremas*) troops. For adducere cf. 271 n.

**134 non ego (silebo)** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.793 *nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo*, or, in mock-heroic style, *G.* 2.101 f. *non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis,/ transierim, Rhodia*, followed by Aus. *Mos.* 115 *nec te, delicias mensarum, perca, silebo* with Hosius. 'For the combination of litotes and apostrophe, striking a panegyrical note' (Harrison *ad* Verg. *A.* 10.185 f. *non ego te ...,/ transierim, Cunare,*) see also *A.* 7.733, *nec tu ...*, and Nisbet/ Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.21 *neque te silebo.* For *non ego* beginning the hexameter compare also Stat. *Theb.* 7.370 f. *non ego, Abantiadas, non te, saxosa Caryste,/ .... dixi.*

**sanguineis ... bellis** the combination also in 5.307, not elsewhere (TLL *s.v.*); cf., however, Sen. *Phaedr.* 465 *Marte sanguineo.*

**gestantem tympana** kettle-drums, tambourines, musical instruments used in the rites of Cybele and Dionysus (Catul. 63.9 *tympanum tuum, Cybebe*, Lucr. 2.618 *tympana tenta tonant palmis* (in a Phrygian context), Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.10 *pulso Thyias uti concita tympano*, Ov. *Met.* 11.17). Interestingly, in the medieval period *tympanum* is used for 'church-bell'[11]. Accordingly in the illustration (see frontispiece) summarizing the contents of Book 6 in Masier's edition of VF (Paris, 1519) in the foreground we see fur-clad warriors carrying *standards* with *bells* (unknown in pagan Antiquity). It seems more appropriate for the savages to carry actual tambourines.

---

[11] A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs du Moyen-Age* , Turnhout, 1975, *s.v.*

**135 Thyrsageten** Mss., *Thyssageten* Heeren 54 on the basis of Herodot. 4.22 Θυσσαγέται, followed by Mela 1.116, Plin. *Nat.* 4.88 *Thyssagetae*, 6.19 *Thyssagetae.* The tribe was mentioned as living north of Scythia, which would create a sudden change in the region the soldiery comes from (cf. 140). VF probably spelled *Thyrsagetes* deliberately, to create an etymological connection with the *thyrsus* of Bacchus. — Harmand 45 postulates a link with Mela 3.96 where Aethiopians make noise with cymbals and tambourines, but this need not be the case and after all we know so little about VF's sources.

**cinctum (pellibus)** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.282 *(sacerdotes) pellibus in morem cincti*, *Moret.* 22 *cinctus villosae tegmine caprae*, Cic. *Verr.* 4.124 *Gorgonis os ... cinctum anguibus.*

**vagis** used again very soon after 132 *vaga ... vincula.*

**post** *cinctum post terga*, '<hands> bound between the back', cannot be the sense. *post* can better be combined with *vagis* (*post terga* used adverbially); their skin-clothes are billowing behind their backs.

**136 nexas** resulting in a versus leoninus, a frequent phenomenon; *nexis* Vossius, printed by Baehrens, Bury, Mozley, is not necessary and even less likely; cf. VF 5.79 with Wijsman.

**viridantem** *viridare*, 'to make green', also in Ov. *Hal.* 90 *num vada subnatis imo viridentur ab herbis.*

*

137. fama ducem Iovis et Cadmi de sanguine Bacchum
138. hac quoque turiferos, felicia regna, Sabaeos,
139. hac Arabas fudisse manu, mox rumperet Hebri
140. cum vada Thyrsagetas gelida liquisse sub Arcto.

**137 ff.** understand: *fama est Bacchum fudisse Sabaeos hac manu; fudisse quoque hac manu Arabas; mox (cum rumperet vada Hebri) Thyrsagetas liquisse.*

**137 Cadmi de sanguine** Semele was daughter of Cadmus.

**Bacchum** creating a connection with the *thyrsus*, and accordingly an explanation for the name *Thyssagetae* (see *ad* 135).

**138 turiferos ... Sabaeos** on words ending in *-fer* see Wijsman *ad* 5.43 and 137, Korn *ad* 4.139, Antolín 431. Other examples in Book 6 are 342 *letifer*, 434 *flammifer*, 752 *astrifer. turifer* occurs in the same sense of 'frankincense-*producing*' in Verg. *G.* 2.139, Ov. *Fast.* 3.720, Plin. *Nat.*

6.104. The Sabaei (Sheba of the Old Testament) were a people in south-west Arabia, mentioned in Verg. *G.* 1.57, 2.117, *A.* 1.416, Plin. *Nat.* 6.154 *Sabaei Arabum propter tura clarissimi*, 12.51-65, Mela 3.79; compare Frazer *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.341, Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9.4. According to Frazer the tree grows in former French Somaliland and southern Arabia.

**felicia regna** alluding to *Arabia felix*, an idea found in Plin. *Nat.* 12.51 *causasque quae cognomen illi (=Arabia) felici ac beatae dedere. principalia ergo in illa tus atque murra*; 12.82 *felix appellatur Arabia.*

**139 Arabas** as the limit of the known earth already in Catul. 11.5 *sive in Hyrcanos Arabasque molles*, Prop. 2.10.16. *Arabas* has a short first syllable; see on that subject Antolín 183.

**Hebri** a river in Thracia: Verg. *Ecl.* 10.65, Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.10, 3.12.6, Ov. *Ep.* 2.114, Stat. *Theb.* 7.66, Sil. 2.75. *rumperet* can be understood in connexion with Stadler's interpretation of VF 7.646, where Mavors enters and scorches the "heavy" Hebrus (Stadler: "burning" = *melting*, "heavy" = *frozen*). (Differently, Garson 1970:182 takes burning literally, the sweating horses (=chariot) dry the river). Here *gelida sub Arcto* seems to point to freezing temperatures.

**140 cum** postponed to fourth position.

**vada V+L**, 'waters' (of the Hebrus), seems much better than *iuga* **C**.

**gelida ... sub Arcto** cf. 5.155 *in gelidas ... Arctos*, 5.317 *media ... sub Arcto*, Luc. 1.252 *gelidaque sub Arcto/*, Ov. *Met.* 4.625 *gelidas Arctos*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.422 *gelida ... Arcto*, Sil. 1.590 *glaciali ... ab Arcto*, 15.227 *gelidas ... ad Arctos*, as well as 1.419 *adsidua ... Arcto*, 3.359 f. *Arctos/ ad patrias*, 6.40 *geminas Arctos*, 612 *summas ... in Arctos*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.287, 3.526.

*

141. illis omnis adhuc veterum tenor et sacer aeris
142. pulsus et eoae memoratrix tibia pugnae.
143. iungit opes Emoda suas, sua signa secuti
144. Exomatae Torynique et flavi crine Satarchae.
145. mellis honor Torynis, ditant sua mulctra Satarchen,
146. Exomatas venatus alit nec clarior ullis
147. Arctos equis.

**141 veterum tenor** *tenor* as 'way of living', cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.63 *adhuc tenor integer aevi*; Ov. *Ep.* 17.14 *dumque tenor vitae sit sine labe meae.* Langen, having found no example of *tenor* going with human beings, understood *veterum* as 'things'; however, supplying *vitae* or *aevi* solves the problem.

**aeris (pulsus)** cf. Sil. 17.18 f. *circum arguta cavis tinnitibus aera, simulque/ certabant rauco resonantia tympana pulsu* (around Cybele), Liv. 39.10.7 *(locus) qui circumsonet ... et cymbalorum tympanorum pulsu.*

**142 eoae** for the word *eous* and the variation in metrical value of the *e-* see Wijsman *ad* 5.76. There is enallage; the *flute* is eastern.

**memoratrix** hapax legomenon, like *gestatrix* 4.605, *sociatrix* 5.499; however, cf. *memorator* only in Prop. 3.1.33. Apparently VF loves the use of *nomina agentis* (cf. 162).

**143 iungit opes** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.154 (*Tarchon) iungit opes.*

**Emoda** ed. 1498 (=*Emeda* **V+L** as printed by Courtney and Ehlers, Bury, *Eumeda* **C**). Heeren 41 cogently argues that *Emodus* = *Imaus*, 'Himalaya', quoting Plin. *Nat.* 5.98 (*Emodus*), 6.60 (*Hemodus*), 56 (*Hemodi montes*), 88 (*ultra montes Hemodos*), Diod. Sic. 2.35 (το 'Ημωδὸν ὄρος). Krenkel 57 proposed Comeda, adducing a tribe of Scythians called Κομῆδαι/Κωμῆδαι.

**signa secuti** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.52 *qui signa secuti.*

**144 Exomatae** (Mss.); this must refer to the *Ixomatae* Mela 1.114 *Ixamatae*, Amm. 22.8.31 *Ixomatae et Maeotae et Iazyges.* They return in 569.

**Torynique** Mss.; Heeren proposed *Toretae*, citing several examples of the broad variation in spelling of different sub-tribes of the Scythians, and pointing to Strabo 11.2.11 = C495 (Τορεάται = Τορέται, Plin. *Nat.* 6.17 *Toretae*, Steph. Byz. Τορέται). Yet the step seems big and the procedure doubtful, the Toryni being unknown (Heeren 59) except a mention by for Sid. Apoll. in *Carm.* 7.323, among tribes following the Huns: *Bellonotus, Neurus, Bastarna, Toringus.* (It seems as if the latter author as well as VF used the same source, Heeren 8). For *Toryn-/Toret-* Heeren 55 compares *Sarmat/Sauromat-*, *Exomat-/Ixabat-/Iaxamat-/Ixibat-*.

**flavi crine** applied to the Satarchae, but rather as *pars pro toto*, because the Scythians will all have had fair hair. The granddaughter of the Sun also had; see 492 n.

**Satarchae** see below, next line.

**145 mellis honor** Heeren 55 quotes Polyb. 4.38 οἱ κατὰ τόν Πόντον ἡμῖν τόποι παρασκευάζουσι δαψιλέσταττον καὶ χρησιμώτατον ὁμολογουμένως, πρὸς δὲ περιουσίαν μέλι κηρὸν τάριχος ἀφθόνως ἡμῖν χορηγοῦσιν.

**ditant** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.177 *novercales luimus ditare Mycenas*, Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.62 *ditata est spoliis perfida turba meis.*

**mulctra** not often used; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16.49, Verg. *Ecl.* 3.30, Ov. *Fast.* 4.745, several times in Calpurnius (TLL *s.v.*).

**Satarchen** (cf. 131): Plin. *Nat.* 6.22 puts the Satarchae near the river Don, in 4.85 he locates them near the Taurian Chersonesus, as Mela 2.3 did. Mela 2.10 exonerates them from the love of gold (an ethnographical topos).

**146 venatus alit** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.318 *asper victu venatus alebat* (Euander's people), Sil. 8.571 *hos venatus alit* (Hirpini in southern Italy), in the context of the way of life of primitive tribes Verg. *A.* 9.605 *venatu invigilant pueri*; compare the rustic hunter Ornytus in Verg. *A.* 11.677-689 and Sil. 4.554 f. *Allius ... venator.* Toryni, Satarchae, Exomatae are tribes of different cultures; in our time we could still speak of African negro tribes dependent on honey, dairy food or hunting.

**nec clarior ullis (Arctos equis)** 'The north is not more famous for any <other> horses <than theirs>'. *Arctos*, 'the North', figures also in Mart. 9.84.6 *nescia nec nostri nominis Arctos erat*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.408, 12.653 *ventosaque ... Arctos.*

*

147. abeunt Hypanin fragilemque per undam
148. tigridis aut saevae profugi cum prole leaenae
149. maestaque suspectae mater stupet aggere ripae.
150. impulit et dubios Phryxei velleris ardor
151. Centoras et diros magico terrore Choatras.

**147 Hypanin fragilemque per undam** understand: *<per> Hypanin fragilemque per undam*, a hendiadys. For such a construction compare Verg. *A.* 6.692 f. *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum,/ accipio*, 7.296 *medias acies mediosque per ignes*; with *ad* in VF 1.576, 716, Stat. *Theb.* 8.384, with *in* in VF 6.615, Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.2. Here *Hypanis* does not indicate the Bug, as often (RE *s.v.*) but the Kuban, a river coming down from the Caucasus and mentioned in Strabo C494 = 11.2.9.

**fragilemque per undam** 'brittle ice', cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.26 *fragiles ... aquae,* and *Ars* 1.374 *ut fragilis glacies, interit ira mora.*

**148 tigridis aut ... leaenae** also linked in Verg. *G.* 2.151, Ov. *Met.* 9.613 ff., 15.86 *Armeniae tigres iracundique leones,* Luc. 6.487, Stat. *Theb.* 6.787 f., 9.16, *Ach.* 2.124. (The overlap in their areas of distribution must have been considerable. Lions still occur in the Gir reserve in Kathiawar Peninsula, India, while the distribution of tigers is given in Plin. *Nat.* 8.66 as *tigrim Hyrcani et Indi ferunt* (as well as Siberia). Tigers are Hyrcanian in Verg. *A.* 4.367, Stat. *Theb.* 12.170, Sil. 5.280, Caspian in Stat. *Theb.* 10.288 f.,[12] Caucasian in Sil. 4.331, 5.148, 15.81, Armenian in Ov. *Met.* 8.121. The image of the tiger following a hunter who has robbed her cubs is also found in Ov. *Met.* 13.547 f. *utque furit catulo lactente orbata leaena / signaque nacta pedum sequitur, quem non videt, hostem*; and with the addition of her efforts being in vain when he flees over the water in Plin. *Nat.* 8.66 *at ubi vacuum cubile reperit feta fertur praeceps ore vestigans.... donec ... inrita feritas saevit in litore.* In VF 1.489-493 the young have been caught near the river Amanus and the tigress remains on the wrong side (where in the resumption of the main story the words *stant litore matres* (494) may reveal the influence of Pliny referred to already in 86 n.). In Silius a tigress missing her young leaps across the river and takes her revenge, 12.458-462 *haud secus amisso tigris si concita fetu / emicet, attonitae paucis lustratur in horis / Caucasus et saltu tramittitur alite Ganges, / donec fulmineo partus vestigia cursu / colligat et rabiem prenso consumat in hoste.* In the same way a tiger is aggressive in Juv. 6.270 *tunc orba tigride peior.* In Mela 1.43 the Hyrcanian tiger's eagerness to protect its young is described: *silvae ... et tigres ferunt, utique Hyrcaniae, ...; ubi ille earum catulos citus coepit avehere .. unum de pluribus omisit, hae ... ad cubilia sua referunt ... donec ... profugus raptor evadat.* Already Harmand 45 noticed the close relationship between this scene and the preceding one depicting the suicide of the elderly in 125 ff.

**149 maestaque ... mater** cf. Verg. *G.* 4.511 ff. *qualis ... maerens philomela sub umbra / amissos queritur fetus ... / ...; at illa / flet noctem, ... et maestis late loca questibus implet.*

**suspectae** enallage, in the sense that the water (= the ice) is to be 'mistrusted', not the river bank itself.

---

[12] Caspian is equivalent to Caucasian according to Plin. *Nat.* 6.40 and Strabo C497=11.2.15.

**aggere ripae** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.106 *gramineo ripae ... ab aggere*, Sil. 6.281 *aggere se ripae tandem exhalavit*; equivalent to Sil. 10.92 *flumineo ... in aggere.*

**150 dubios** the word suggests the following interpretation of 150/151: 'Frenzy for the fleece of Phrixus brought the Centors, slightly afraid because of the possible magic power of the fleece, as well as the Choatrae, quite confident because they were wizards themselves, inducing terror rather than being afraid'.

**151 Centoras** (*-es*?) unknown from other sources (Heeren 35). It may be a fantasy name alluding to the Centaurs (but with short *-o*), traditionally located in northern, Thracian regions.

**magico terrore** cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.208 *terrores magicos.*

**Choatras** a tribe of that name living north of the Pontus (cf. Tomaschek, *RE* 3.2355) is mentioned only by VF and Lucan 3.246, called after *Choatras*, in Plin. *Nat.* 5.98 part of a hypothetical mountain range including nearly all mountains of the Middle East. Heeren 37 cites some similar names with *Cho-* from the Pontic region.

*

152. omnibus in superos saevus sonor, omnibus artes
153. monstrificae, nunc vere novo compescere frondes
154. nunc subitam trepidis Maeotin solvere plaustris.
155. maximus hos inter Stygia venit arte Coastes.
156. sollicitat nec Martis amor, sed fama Cytaeae
157. virginis et paribus spirans Medea venenis.
158. gaudet Averna palus, gaudet iam nocte quieta
159. portitor et tuto veniens Latonia caelo.

**152 saevus sonor** Sudhaus in Kramer for *onor* **V**, *honor* **L**, which does not scan. There is a parallel for *honor, viz.* Stat. *Theb.* 4.53 f. *saevus honos fluvio* (the *Elisson*): *Stygias lustrare severis/ Eumenidas perhibetur aquis*; *honor* = 'rite' (Mozley), or rather 'victim', as in Verg. *A.* 1.49 *supplex aris imponet honorem.* The expression might then refer to human victims (Burman). Kösters 88 included *saevus honor* in his list of prolonged syllables. However, *sonor* would be quite natural in a context of magic, while the corruption can easily be explained. Compare for *sonor* Tac. *Ann.* 14.36.1 *preces miscebat ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanis minas.* This means that from Koesters' list of metrical anomalies in Book 6

lines 152, 305, 571 and possibly also 612, added by Poortvliet 140, can be deleted.

**153 monstrificae** the only occurrence of the word except in the Elder Pliny, who has it 14 times, and two more in authors dependent upon Pliny (TLL 8.1439.82 ff.).

**vere novo** cf. Verg. *G.* 1.43 (and already in *Ecl.* 10.74).

**compescere frondes** cf. (TLL 3.2061.56 ff.) Verg. *G.* 2.370, Colum. 5.6.11, Ov. *Met.* 14.630, Colum. 4.17.5 *vitem compescere*, 4.27.2 *umbrasque compescat, etc.*

**154 subitam ... Maeotin** *subitam* is a fine example of an adjective used instead of an adverb, since there are few things as unsudden as a permanent bay.

**trepidis** personification with an adjective 'of fear' according to McKay; see Wijsman *ad* 5.220.

**solvere plaustris** *solvere* 'thaw' (Mozley); *plaustris* a dative of disadvantage (Langen) or possibly an ablative absolute: the wagons trembling for their own safety.

**155 maximus ... Coastes** a line framed by attribute and substantive, as in 402, 479, 517, 746 (Contino 76) and 512, and in addition a line with the general structure of a golden line with *hos inter* inserted. Such a highly structured line gives a high profile to Coastes. Coastes knows *artes*, like Vergil's Umbro (in his catalogue) who with sleep-inducing herbs and chants lulls the viper into slumber. Coastes can be derived from Greek κῶας (with epical correption), but it is unlikely that VF intended a word-play upon the 'fleece'. For *maximus* cf. only Verg. *A.* 7.532 on a considerably smaller scale, of an eldest son, one Almo, who is killed.

**hos inter** as in VF 4.299, Stat. *Theb.* 10.347, *Silv.* 1.6.51; cf. *hos super* in 6.88, 6.243 *latus inter*, 595 *Minyas inter.*

**Stygia ... arte** cf. Luc. 6.766 *Stygio cum carmine* (the Thessalian witch speaking). The element of wizardry in the catalogue is traditional; in Sil. 3.300 f. the Marmaridae in Hannibal's service are also a *medicum vulgus, ... ad quorum cantus serpens oblita <est> veneni*, among the Italians in Sil. 8.495 the Marsi are singled out for their snake-charming.

**Coastes.** only a full stop after Coastes can prevent reading as if he were the subject of *sollicitat.*

**156 sollicitat** four times beginning the line in Vergil (also once *sollicitant*); similarly twice in VF (also 3.548), and once *sollicitant* in 1.261, also combined with *nec ... nec.*.

**Martis amor** cf. 6.694 *Mavortis amor*, Verg. *A.* 7.550 *insani Martis amore*, *Ecl.* 10.44 *amor duri ... Martis*. See 694 n. for the rôle of these words in the composition.

**Cytaeae/ (virginis)** Medea, from Colchian Cyta; cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.466. The word recurs in 427, 543, 595, 693. In *fama Cytaeae virginis et ... Medea* the maiden and Medea are one and the same person; Strand 123 gives a list of various instances 'where the second limb is just a variation of the first', in Book 6 lines 296 f., 455 f., 470 f.; he adds *Iuno ... nec ... regina* (429 f.) which I would tend to exclude (with Fucecchi 105) since *regina* is used there in apposition (see 429 n.).

**157 paribus ... venenis** equally potent drugs (as his).

**spirans Medea venenis** cf. VF 7.327 *magicis spirantia tecta venenis*; for *spirare* with ablative cf. Luc. 9.679 f. *quanto spirare veneno/ ora rear* (Gorgon), Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.211 *semper odoratis spirabunt floribus arae*; *Theb.* 12.567 (*campum*) *spirantem tabo*.

**158 Averna palus** cf. *Averni lacus, unde animae excitantur* Cic. *Tusc.* 1.37; several times in the *Aeneid*, one of these 6.126 ff. *facilis descensus Averno, sed revocare gradum, hoc opus*.

**gaudet iam nocte quieta (portitor)** because fewer souls are conjured by the wizard to come up to the upper world and utter prophecies about the future.

**159 portitor** = Charon; cf. Verg. *A.* 6.298 f. *portitor ... Charon*, *G.* 4.502 *portitor ... Orci*, Luc. 6.704 *tuque o flagrantis portitor undae*, VF 1.783 f. *niger avehit umbras/ portitor*, where the word in the same way is the first in the line.

**tuto ... caelo** *tuto* Gronovius, *Obs. Scr. Eccl.* 100; *toto* **V+L**. More on magic being able to halt the stars and change the course of sun and moon in 441 ff. n.

**Latonia** = the moon ; cf. Verg. *A.* 9.403 ff. *suspiciens altam Lunam ... sic voce precatur: tu, dea, .... astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos*. That the moon can be influenced by magic is mentioned in, *e.g.*, (about Medea) Ov. *Ep.* 6.85 ff. *illa reluctantem cursu deducere lunam/ nititur*, Apul. *Met.* 1.3 ... *solem inhiberi, ... extinguere*. Cf. Frazer *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 5.401

on the ancient belief that it was possible by magic to draw down the moon.'

*

160. ibant et geminis aequantes cornibus alas
161. Balloniti comitumque celer mutator equorum
162. Moesus et ingentis frenator Sarmata conti.
163. nec tot ab extremo fluctus agit aequore nec sic
164. fratribus adversa Boreas respondet ab unda
165. aut is apud fluvios clamor volucrum, aethera quantus
166. tunc lituum concentus adit lymphataque miscet
167. milia, quot foliis, quot floribus incipit annus.

**160** The Balloniti accompanied by Moesi and Sarmatae equal the *alae* 'with two horns' or make them equal *to* two horns. J.A. Wagner thought of two wings manned by Balloniti. Langen, too, saw the troops divided in two equal wings, one consisting of Balloniti and Moesi, the other consisting of Sarmatians and in number equalling the 'divisions' of the first. However, Koestlin 1889: 665, supported by Heeren 59 f. took *cornu* here as the point of a **bow**, and compared their bows to bird's wings. Mozley takes the bow as giving a speed as of a bird's wing. Possibly the Balloniti had a way of carrying their bows giving them the appearance of walking birds with their wings spread. The passage is difficult and a conjecture welcome.

**ibant et** cf. (*et* meaning 'and') Verg. *A.* 9.369 *ibant et Turno regi responsa ferebant*, not in Ov., Luc., Stat., once in Sil. 8.420, where again *et* is 'and'. Here in VF 6.160-162 *et* ... *et* means 'as well ... as'.

**161 Balloniti** unknown from the literature (Heeren 59) except for Ap. Sidonius' mention of them in *Carm.* 7.323, among tribes following the Huns: Bellonotus, Neurus, Bastarna, Toringus. On the source see 144 n.

**mutator** leaping from the one horse to the other. Here the word does not have the more usual sense of 'merchant' and can be compared with Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.135 f. *an iuga Pannoniae mutatoresque domorum / Sauromatas quaties?*

**162 Moesus** in present-day Bulgaria.

**frenator** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.27 *ignipedum frenator equorum* (the sun). A similar *nomen agentis* in 142 (*memoratrix*), both used for the first time

here in VF. *ingentis frenator conti* cannot mean much more than 'having complete control of his huge lance', 'mastering the art of lance-fighting'.

**Sarmata** Heeren 78 emphasizes that the Sarmatae (according to Plin. *Nat.* 4.80 *Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae,* Σαυρομάται) lived in present-day Ukraine (around the Tanais), but were also described as coming from the Danube *teste Ovidio* (*Tr., Pont. passim*) or Sil. 3.617 *Sarmaticis victor compescet sedibus Histrum,* and from the Caucasus (Luc. 3.270 *Heniochi saevisque adfinis Sarmata Moschis,* where the Moschi are from southern Colchis); cf. Herodot. 3.94, 7.78 and VF 7.235 with Sadler. They formed a confederation (Plin. *Nat.* 6.19).

**conti** the Sarmatians used long lances, as did the Macedonians; cf. Grat. 117 *Macetum immensos ... contos,* Sil. 15.684 f. *conti/ Sarmatici,* Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.2 *Sarmatae ... neque conti neque gladii, Ann.* 6.35.1.

**163 ff.** A few lines crammed with comparisons, referring to the number of allies and the noise they make. The first is with the number of waves in a sea swept by a gale, as well as the number of leaves or flowers in spring; the noise of the trumpets in their chaotic thousands is compared to winds roaring, or birds chattering; the series is crowned by the comparison of the shaken earth to its groaning and shivering under Jupiter's chariot in the battle of Phlegra. Hyperbolic, in short, but in silver Latin days an appropriate way of concluding the catalogue. The model for the combination of the first two similes is found in ARh 4.214 ff., where the angry Colchians throng together after the theft of the Fleece: ὅσσα δὲ πόντου/ κύματα χειμερίοιο/ ἢ ὅσα φύλλα ... πέσεν. ARh follows Hom. *Il.* 2.459 ff., where the Greeks are compared to birds of the resounding marshes, as many as leaves and flowers in springtime. The combination 'numerous as the waves, nay, as the leaves' (and flowers) also occurs in Sen. *Oed.* 600 ff., where shades appear, *non tot caducas educat frondes Eryx, nec vere flores Hybla creat, fluctusque non tot frangit Ionium mare,* followed by *nec tanta gelidi Strymonis fugiens minas permutat hiemes ales,* where the Homeric subtext shimmers through in the birds of the Strymon (the cranes of Vergil's *A.* 10.265). Moreover, a few lines down from the waves/leaves simile ARh 4.236 ff. compares the number of ships of the Colchian navy to an abundant *noisy* tribe of birds. In Verg. *A.* 6.309 ff. shades are as numerous as the leaves, as migratory birds congregating before departure.

**163 nec tot ... fluctus agit (Boreas)** relevant sources for Boreas harassing the waters of whole areas of sea are: Hom *Il.* 2.144 about the phenomenon of winds stirring the sea κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης,/ πόντου 'Ικαρίοιο, τὰ μέν τ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τε/ ὤρορ' ..., 11.307 about the frequent waves generated by the wind (πληθύν) — πολλὸν δὲ τρόφι κῦμα κυλίνδεται, Verg. *A.* 2.416 ff. *adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti/ confligunt ...; ... atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo.* Verg. *A.* 7.718 compares the number of Italians to *quam multi Libyco volvuntur marmore fluctus.* In its brevity the simile assumes knowledge of Homer and Vergil; for other, less relevant, sources see Gärtner. The number of combatants is compared to the number of waves at sea, their noise to a roaring storm, and it is only in *Il.* 11.307 that both aspects are brought together. On the conflict of the various winds see 353 n. In the first book VF had already collected the various winds and let them drive *unanimi* the *freta curva ad litora* noisily, *rauco tractu* (VF 1.614 f.).

**164 (nec sic) fratribus ... Boreas respondet** the competition between the various winds ('roaring as loud as his brothers') may have a model in Luc. 5.598 ff., where a contest of Corus and Boreas is described, as well as in Hom. *Il.* 16.765 ff. or Verg. *A.* 10.356 f. *magno discordes aethere venti/ proelia ceu tollunt* or *A.* 2.416 *quondam ... venti/ confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque*; two winds in cooperation are found in Hom. *Il.* 2.144, 9.4, and pairs of winds in *Od.* 5.330 ff. *frater* for various winds was first used by Ovid (Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 1.60 *tanta est discordia fratrum*); cf. *Met.* 14.545 *Astraei ... fratres.* On Boreas see Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 1.65. In *Il.* 2.394 f. the Argives shout as 'when Notus throws a wave upon a rocky cape'. Caurus and Africus battle playfully in Sil. 3.660, in 7.571 Boreas opposes Africus; three winds are at war in 12.617 ff. as well as in 16.97 ff. The description in *Il.16* is far superior to VF's short line, but VF adds an original trait (the sea) that provides a link to the waves of the former simile.

**respondet** *respondere* in the sense of 'giving the due (loud) answer in reply', as in Stat. *Ach.* 1.849 f. *thyrsos aut respondentia temptant/ tympana.*

**adversa ... ab unda** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.416 ff. quoted above (163) or Ov. *Met.* 11.484 *impediunt adversae iussa procellae.* Mozley visualizes the winds each roaring from the waves he drove himself; I presume the waves are at an angle to each other.

**165 is apud fluvios clamor volucrum** cf. Gärtner *ad loc.* who cites several passages referring to 'noise like the cries of birds', such as Homer's geese, cranes or swans of the Cayster in *Il.* 2.459 just before the catalogue, Verg. *A.* 7.699 ff. in the catalogue, *A.* 11.454 ff. where, as here, suddenly there is war, and the noise of the troops *(undique clamor)* is compared to birds in the fields along the river Po. Homer describes the various war-cries of the armies, but VF mentions specifically the trumpets, possibly indicating that in particular he had the cranes in mind; their noise is mentioned in *Il.* 3.1 ff. (κλαγγῄ), as well as in Verg. *A.* 10.265 f. *Strymoniae ... grues atque aetherea tranant/ cum sonitu.* In *Stat. Theb.* 5.11 ff. is that master-piece where the number of warriors as well as their noise is compared to flocks of birds, so numerous as so shed a shadow upon the sea, while the heavens (*avius aether*, a play upon *avis*) re-echo with their cries (based upon Verg. *A.* 6.311 ff. where their migration is also mentioned). The original inspiration for the simile may have come from Luc. 3.199 ff. (in the catalogue) about the Strymon from where Bistonian birds fly to the Nile.

**clamor V+L+(C).** **C** had here *volucrum quatit aethera clamor./ Tunc lituum concentus agit lymphataque miscet/ milia.* This is certainly not without sense, but the combination with *agit* in 166 makes one suspect medieval 'editing'. There have been some proposals to change the text. Of recent editors Baehrens, Bury, Kramer, Courtney and Ehlers have followed Burman in printing *canor* Heinsius; Schenkl, followed by Langen, Giarratano and Mozley, printed *clamor volucrum aethera quantus.* Since not the song, but the noise of birds is involved, I prefer to keep *clamor*, cf. Lucr. 4.181 f. *parvus ut est cycni melior canor, ille gruum quam/ clamor in aetheriis dispersus nubibus austri*, Luc. 1.388 *it tantus ad aethera clamor* (of the soldiery) and Verg. *G.* 1.361 f. *revolant ex aequore mergi/ clamoremque ferunt ad litora.* See also *clamor* in Verg. *A.* 11.454 *hic undique clamor* mentioned above.

**166 lituum concentus** cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.28.2 *tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere*; cf. Liv. 9.41.17 *concentu tubarum ac cornuum*, Verg. *A.* 8.1 f. *ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce/ extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu.*

**(aethera .../) concentus adit** for *adire* with accusative cf. Verg. *A.* 4.322 *(fama) qua sola sidera adibam*, 6.534 *ut ... sine sole domos ... adires?*, Luc. 8.251 f. *te, parva Phaseli,/ Magnus adit. aethera* takes up *in auras A.* 11.455, itself based upon *Il.* 3.3 οὐρανόθι, and refers also to 10.265 *aethera.*

**lymphataque miscet (milia)** cf. Catul. 64.254 *lymphata mente furebant*, Verg. *A.* 7.377 *furit lymphata per urbem* (Amata), Luc. 1.495

f. *turba ... lymphata*, Sen. *Tro.* 34 f. *ore lymphato ... / ... praedixit (Cassandra)*. The word *lymphata* is what VF adds to the source material for the simile, thereby refreshing it. Mozley translates 'filling with frenzy the mingled myriads', which nicely indicates that 'mixing the crowds and the war trumpets' *makes them* become crazy.

**167 quot foliis, quot floribus** Hom. *Il.* 2.468 ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρῃ (cf. ARh. 4.216 ff. and Verg. *A.* 6.309 ff. about autumn leaves), Ov. *Met.* 11.614 f. *somnia ... totidem, quot ... silva gerit frondes*, Sen. *Oed.* 600 f. *non tot caducas educat frondes Eryx nec vere flores Hybla tot medio creat.* Homer's simile is situated between the noise of the birds and the catalogue, as here; leaves are again used as an image of the multitude of the armies in *Il.* 2.800. VF's leaves, like Seneca's, are those of spring, the young buds, accompanying the young flowers.

*

168. ipse rotis gemit ictus ager tremibundaque pulsu
169. nutat humus, quatit ut saevo cum fulmine Phlegram
170. Iuppiter atque imis Typhoea verberat arvis.

**168 rotis gemit ... ager** the groaning of the earth already in Hom. *Il.* 2.781 f. γαῖα δ' ὑπεροτενάχιζε Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ/ χωομένῳ (directly after the catalogue). Compare Verg. *A.* 9.709 *dat tellus gemitum* (= Stat. *Theb.* 6.107), Luc. 6.137 *gemit agger ad ictus*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.656 *icta gemit tellus* and Sil. 4.294 *et percussa gemit tellus ingentibus armis*, Verg. *A.* 12.334 f. *quatit ultima pulsu/ Thraca pedum*, 12.713 *dat gemitum tellus.* In particular in Verg. *A.* 7.722 the Italian forces are described: *scuta sonant pulsuque pedum conterrita tellus*, the same combination of the noise of the troops and the ground shaking.

So Jupiter rides the earth, shakes the ground and hurls lightning as in the battle against the giants (one of these Typhoeus). The *gigantomachia* can be considered a step forward in the world's progress; in 1.563-567 Jupiter was ordering history and connects the efforts of the Argonauts with his own victory in Phlegra as well as with the civilizing labours of cultural heroes such as Bacchus and Apollo. The very fact that precisely Phlegra ends the catalogue of the Scythians hints at sombre prospects for the barbarians and gives epic proportions to the one day of local skirmishes in which the Argonauts partake.

**ictus** *intus* **V+L**. Columbus (Heinsius according to Burman) proposed *ictus*, which with reference to Stat. *Theb.* 12.656 just quoted

has been printed by all recent editors since Thilo. Statius as well as Valerius may have based themselves upon Luc. 6.137 quoted above.

**tremibundaque pulsu** cf. Claud. *Rapt.* 3.235 f. *tremefactaque nutat/ insula cornipedum pulsu.*

**169 nutat humus** cf. Claud. just quoted; for *nutare* used in connexion to earthquakes compare Smolenaars *ad* Stat *Theb.* 7.115.

**ut** the comparison has its model in Homer *Il.* 2.781 f. γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ/ χωομένῳ, ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωέϊ γαῖαν ἱμάσσῃ.

**saevo cum fulmine** the combination also in (from TLL 6.1.1529.13 ff.) Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.21, 2.144, 3.4.6, Sen. *Ag.* 802; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.858 *tua fulmine saevior ira est.*

**Phlegram** cf. 5.692 (with Wijsman) and 1.563 ff.cited above or 2.16 ff. Pallene. Mention of the great battle of the Gods against the lower creatures, the Giants, adumbrates great perspectives for the war; however, in silver Latin style, it is a verbose exaggeration (VF's own addition) of what were not much more than tribal skirmishes in which the Argonauts play only a minor rôle. Nevertheless this 14th of August (see Wijsman *ad* 5.348) prepares for the final triumph over the fire-breathing bulls. The name *Phlegra* is not found in Vergil, but is in Prop. 2.1.39, 3.11.37, Sen. *Her.F.* 444, once in Ov. *Met.* (10.151), thrice in Lucan (4.597, 7.145, 9.656), four times in the *Thebaid*, five times in Silius.

**170 Typhoea verberat** (*typhea* **V+L**), *Typhoea* **C**; *Typhona* Langen. Typhoeus was a monstrous Giant, son of the Earth (Verg. *G.* 1.279), buried under Aetna (Ov. *Fast.* 4.491 or VF 2.24), where, however, Enceladus resides according to Verg. *A.* 3.578, Stat. *Theb.* 11.8. He was mentioned by Homer *Il.* 2.782 (169 n.). On Typhoeus see further Poortvliet *ad* 2.23 f., on the names Typhoeus or Typhon Korn *ad* 4.236, or Liberman 221 (*ad* 3.130) concerning a particular awesome cloud called a *typhon.*

Langen, who hesitatingly proposed *Typhona reverberat,* had not noticed the Homeric echo (ἱμάσσῃ).

**arvis** *antris* Sabellicus; *arva* better conforms to Homeric γαῖα. *imis ... antris* is found in 565.

A'.3. *171-181. The opponents and the gods involved.*

Absyrtus and Jason are supported by Pallas with her aegis. Mars has joined the other side. The animosity between Pallas and Mars is known from the *Iliad* (4.439-445, just before the start of the battle, model for VF 6.182 ff.), where each leads one party, and Mars is accompanied by Deimos (Terror), Phobos and Eris (Discord).

Mars and his retinue delight in war as such; he is an opponent of Pallas (5.618 ff.) and defends the golden fleece (5.634) against Perses as well as against the Minyae. Now that these have not formed an alliance, Mars is possibly interested in not much more than the continuation of warfare.

Gärtner 1998b:75 explains the allegorical figures around Mars as an introduction to the themes of the rest of the battle. Apparently she groups the personal clashes of 182-385 under Joy in Bloodshed, associates Tisiphone with lines 402 ff. and applies Flight to lines 725 ff.

Having a short list of adversaries following the main catalogue has its model in Hom. *Il.* 2.816 ff. Together with the similes of the groaning earth and Jupiter flogging Typhoeus, as well as the use of *illi* (182, see n.) this argues a strong orientation upon Homer.

*

171. prima tenent illinc patriis Absyrtus in armis
172. et gener ingentesque inter sua milia reges.
173. at circa Aesoniden Danaum manus ipsaque Pallas
174. aegide terrifica, quam nec dea lassat habendo
175. nec pater horrentem colubris vultuque tremendam
176. Gorgoneo. nec semineces ostendere crines
177. tempus adhuc primasque sinit concurrere pugnas.

**171 prima tenent** 'the first place was taken by'; cf. Verg. *A.* 10.157 *prima tenet (puppis)*, 2.613 (*Iuno*), 5.194 *prima peto* ('the first place'), 5.168 *propiora tenentem*, 5.317 *ultima signant.* ARh's catalogue of the Argonauts starts with πρῶτα νυν 'Ορφῆος μνησώμεθα.

**illinc** 'in the other camp', relating to *hinc* in line 33.

**patriis ... in armis** *patrius* derived from *pater* rather than from *patria* as it is in Verg. *A.* 3.595 *patriis ad Troiam missus in armis* (Achaemenides), *G.* 3.346 *patriis acer Romanus in armis.* Giving this slight twist to a borrowed phrase is much in VF's manner. Interesting is the

similarity to the first line referring to him, VF 5.457 *primis Absyrtus in annis.*

**Absyrtus** Medea's brother and Aeetes' heir; see 5.457, 6.517 ff.

**172 gener** *Styrus*, betrothed to Medea; cf. 5.459 (*gener*), 6.266 ff. Coroebus is called *gener* in Verg. *A.* 2.344. In Homer *Il.* 13.364 ff. it is Othryoneus who is fighting so as to be able to woo Cassandra without having to pay a dowry.

**ingentesque inter inter sua milia reges** cf. 5.273 *magnis regum cum milibus* with Wijsman, 6.60 *veniens cum milibus Auchus*; in the war in Verg. *A.* 10.761 *Tisiphone media inter milia saevit.*

**173 circa Aesoniden** cf. Verg. *G.* 4.75 *circa regem (miscentur).*

**Danaum** 21 times in the *Aeneid*; cf. *deum* 6.49 n., etc.

**174 aegide terrifica** on *aegis* see 396 n.. It was worne in battle by several gods in the *Iliad* (carried by Pallas in 2.447, 5.738, 18.204, and hit by the spear of Mars in 21.400, carried by Apollo in 15.308, 361, 24.20). More on the use of the aegis by Jupiter and Apollo in 396 n. In Roman epic poetry the aegis is carried by Jupiter in Verg. *A.* 8.354, Sil. 12.336, 720 (rather a thunder cloud) as well as by Pallas (Cyclopes are constructing one in Verg. *A.* 8.435), Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.57 *sonantem Palladis aegida*, Luc. 7.570 (see *ad* VF 6.386-426), Stat. *Theb.* 8.510 (as the symbol of Pallas).

**nec dea (nec pater)** (in Homer the aegis is not only used by Pallas and Jupiter, but also by Apollo). Leo 959 preferred instead of *nec ... nec* to read *nunc ... nunc*, which reads well but changes the interpretation: with *nec* the aegis is of such a quality that although it is often used even the gods do not succeed in tiring it out; with *nunc* the gods use the aegis so frequently that often they tire it out.

**lassat habendo** cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.10.33 f. *quae lassarit arando/ aequora*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.413 *(clavumque) lassat agens Tiphys*, Lucr. 1.313 *anulus in digito subter tenuatur habendo.* There is a certain similarity of sound to Verg. *A.* 12.88 *simul aptat habendo.*

**175 horrentem colubris vultuque tremendam (Gorgoneo)** as in descriptions of the aegis such as Verg. *A.* 8.435 ff. *aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,/ certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant* (the Cyclopes)/ *conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae/ Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo.*

**176 (vultu) Gorgoneo** for the Gorgon's head compare Luc. 9.652 f. *ipsique retrorsus/ effusi faciem vitabant Gorgonos angues*, 7.149 *Pallas Gorgoneos diffudit in aegida crines*, Prop. 2.2.8 *(Pallas) Gorgonis anguiferae pectus operta comis*, Ov. *Met.* 4.801 *Gorgoneum crinem turpes mutavit in hydros.* Medusa's physiognomy has been described by Lucan in 9.630 ff.

**semineces ... crinis** for *semineces* see 252, 509; also 3.153. The word is normally used of humans, but applied to a snake, as here, in Verg. *A.* 5.274 ff. *(serpens, quem) gravis ictu/ seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator.*

**177 primasque sinit concurrere pugnas** cf. 25 *concurrere*; for this poetic use of *concurrere* cf. Verg. *G.* 1.318 *omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi*, Luc. 1.40 *ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda.*

*

178. impulit hos contra Mavors pater et mala leti
179. Gaudia Tisiphoneque caput per nubila tollens
180. ad sonitum litui mediaque altissima pugna
181. necdum clara quibus sese Fuga mentibus addat.

**178 impulit hos** the verb seems to characterize Mars, in view of 6 *impulit hinc currus* (Gradivus); see 6 n. However, there a chariot equipment was 'driven forward'; here enemies are 'met with, overthrown', in the manner of Stat. *Theb.* 8.445 *Argum ferus impulit Hypseus. hos* cannot but be the object of *impulit*, because *impellere* cannot be used intransitively. *contra*, then, is adverb, 'from the other side', and should not be compared to, *e.g.*, 373 *has ... contra.*

**Mavors pater** for the archaic *Mavors* for *Mars* see Harrison *ad* Verg. *A.* 10.755. *pater* can be applied to various gods. The occurrences are listed at *Mars pater* in TLL 10.1.686.10 ff. Servius *ad* Verg. *A.* 3.35 *Gradivumque patrem* comments: '*quia apud pontifices Mars pater dicitur*'; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.179 f. *Mavors,/ ... pater*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.841 *pater ... Mavors.*

**179 (mala leti) Gaudia** this peculiar demigod, Tisiphone and Fuga apparently take the place of Deimos ('fear'), Phobos ('panic flight', *fuga*) and Eris (*discordia*) in Homer. Although the scene is modelled upon Homer, the present phrase is derived from Verg. *A.* 6.278 f. *mala mentis/ Gaudia.* VF changes the words slightly, exaggerating the notion in silver Latin fashion from 'taking pleasure in another's bad luck' (cf. Austin *ad loc.*) to 'horrid enjoyment in killing'. In the battle

against Cyzicus (3.88 f.) the Argonauts form a troop that neither Pallas with her aegis nor Jupiter's right hand nor *Terror* and *Pavor* (the *horses* of Mars!) can scatter. In Stat. *Theb.* 3.424 f. *Furor, Ira* and *Pavor* are the retinue of Mars, while *Fama* flies ahead; in Ov. *Met.* 4.485 *Pavor* and *Terror* linger around Tisiphone. Statius has taken over from Homer the figure of Eris, used as the model for *Fama* in the *Aeneid*, but instead of Eris calls her Fama, while VF has given her the name of Tisiphone and the description of *Fama.* VF may have been influential in suggesting the change of Eris into a *Fama*-like figure; Statius has followed the lead and accepted the consequence by accordingly giving her also the name of *Fama.* Gärtner (1998b) 70, note 18, gives a list of similar personifications in VF.

**Tisiphone** here taking the place of *Discordia*; see also below, 6.403. Harrison *ad* Verg. *A.* 10.761 derives the name from Eurip. *Orest.* 323 (Εὐμενίδες) τινύμεναι φόνον.

**caput per nubila tollens** as Eris in Homer *Il.* 4.443 Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, Fama in Vergil *A.* 4.177 *caput inter nubila condit*; on the hyperbolic topos see Pease *ad loc.*, but note that VF tries to go one better because his heroine even goes through the clouds. He was more moderate in 4.149 *(Amycus) qui vertice nubila pulset. per nubila* is used in Verg. *A.* 6.454 for the Moon shining through the clouds, VF has it again in 8.30 for the same situation, in 8.56 he uses *inter nubila* where the clouds referred to are rather a kind of dense mist between the trees.

**180 ad sonitum litui** the war-trumpet also in Enn. *Ann.* V530=S544, Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.18 *litui strepunt*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.216.

**mediaque ... pugna** where the battle is at its fiercest; cf. 228 *mediae ... pugnae*, 312 *medii ... tempora belli*, 545 *in medio duri discrimine belli*, or Ov. *Am.* 2.18.36 *in medio Marte*, Liv. 24.45.4 *in medio ardore belli* (from TLL 8.586.62 f.).

**181 necdum clara** sc. *necdum Fuga clara est quibus ...*, that is, '*Fuga* is not clear to which side...' = 'it is not clear which side Fuga will join'; this induced Pius to conjecture (unecessarily) *certa.*

**sese Fuga mentibus addat** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.719 *immisitque Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem.* For *sese ... addat* cf. VF 5.285 *quibus addimur armis* (Palls and Juno speaking). About 'Panic Flight' Shelton writes that 'she is the only deity still unsure which side she should join'. The reason is the identification of her 'person' with the effect she has.

## B. 182-426: Various Battle Scenes (followed by 507- 760)

The battle can be compared to similar scenes in earlier epic, in particular to the onslaught of the Trojans finally checked by Achilles and to the battle in book 10 of the *Aeneid*, where, as here, the situation for the beleagerd party is suddenly changed by the arrival of assistance from overseas; Aeneas there, Jason here. Aeneas kills the most important of his adversaries as the climax of his exploits, Jason does the same with Colaxes in 621-656. However, at first there occurs a setback for the Argonauts in the form of the death of Canthus, then finally, after the intervention of the Amazons and Pallas, follow the first successes. 21 lines lead up to the ἀριστεία of Castor, which is followed by three more *aristeiae*: Canthus, Styrus, Gesander. The contest around the corpse of Canthus is modelled upon Iliadic Pandarus (*Il.* 5.297 ff.) and Patroclus.

In the first lines of the passage unknown warriors fight; then one hero after the other is introduced; finally Jason enters (681 ff.). The pattern of the first scenes with a flood of names without many particulars has been followed by Statius: the fighting starts in *Theb.* 7.640 ff., and is resumed in *Theb.* 8.428 with a similar scene. There is no good example of a hero introduced with his name, described with an anecdote, and then allowed to fight, which normally leads to his death, as in Homer (the ABC pattern of Fenik and Beye; in Verg. *A.* 10.411-425 Halaesus still presents an example of this type of hero description). It is as if the crowded start has influenced the further description of the battle in that anecdotes — where applied — normally follow the warrior's death (see Tages, Ripheus, Peucon, Helix), while the actual dying is sometimes passed over (as in the case of Canthus or Rhyndacus).

If the two parts in which section B can naturally be divided — viz. 182-278 and 279-386 (the Gesander passage) — are compared, there is in both a certain preponderance of allusions to Books 7-12 of the *Aeneid*, dealing with local battles. Allusions to Ovid, to the *Georgics*, Lucan, *Thebaid*, Silius, *Iliad* are few in number, with possibly two hotspots in *Il.17* and *Theb.7*, but neither very hot. However, there is an enormous preponderance of allusions to the Mezentius passage (*A.* 10.689-908); in 182-278 there are two lines quoted, in 279-386 no less than 21.

*

182. Illi ubi consertis iunxere frementia telis
183. agmina virque virum galeis adflavit adactis
184. continuo hinc obitus perfractaque caedibus arma
185. corporaque, alternus cruor alternaeque ruinae.
186. volvit ager galeas et thorax egerit imbres
187. sanguineos. hinc barbarici glomerantur ovatus,
188. hinc gemitus mixtaeque virum cum pulvere vitae.

B.1. *182-202: general fighting;*

The 21 lines leading up to the ἀριστεία of Castor (182-202) can be divided into tree equal parts of seven lines each: 182-188 + 189-195 + 196-202.

B.1.a. *182-188. Anonymous carnage.*
182-188 seem to be modelled upon Hom. *Il.* 4.446-451, where Greeks and Trojans resume fighting after the truce is broken, witness *illi ubi* ... (182) and οἱ δ' ὅτε ... (446), *hinc barbarici glomerantur ovatus,/ hinc gemitus* (187 f.) and ἔνθα δ' ἅμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν/ ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων (450 f.; Vaalburg, unpublished). The Homeric scene follows one with Pallas and Mars, as here. VF has used Homer's model interspersed with words (*virum vir, gemitus, permixti, volvuntur*) derived from a battle already started (Verg. *A.* 11.632-635): *legitque virum vir,/ tum vero et gemitus morientum et sanguine in alto/ armaque corporaque et permixti caede virorum/ semianimes volvuntur equi.*

**182 illi** summarizing all the combatants since 33, corresponding to Hom. 2.780 οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν or to (slightly before the end) *A.* 7.803 *hos super advenit ... Camilla.* By contrast Vergil's *A.* 10. 213 *tot lecti proceres,* Sil. 3.406 *talia ... agmina,* 8.618 f. *tot tela, tantis agminibus,* Luc. 3.290 f. *tot ... excivit populos* are based upon ARh 1.228 τόσσοι.

**consertis ... telis** arms in close contact (cf. Luc. 7.520 *noxque super campos telis conserta pependit* (in Pharsalus), Luc. 5.708 *consertis puppibus,* Curt. 3.2.13 (*arma*), 5.3.23 *scutisque ... consertis*), with overtones of *conserere proelia, pugnam, etc.* (*e.g.,* 6.352 f.) or *manus(-m)* (cf. 3.122, 6.539 *consere dextram*).

**iunxere (agmina)** see 484 n.

**183** The phrase with its anaphora is based upon Hom. *Il.* 4.472 ἀνὴρ δ'ἄνδρ'ἐδνοπάλιζεν, 13.130 ff. φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκει

προθελύμνῳ· ἀσπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ. ψαῦον δ' ἱππόκομοι κόρυθες λαμπροῖσι φάλοισι νευόντων (=16.215 ff.), 15.328 ἔνθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἕλεν ἄνδρα (=16.306) or 11.150 f., themselves models for Verg. *A.* 10.361 *viro vir* (with Harrison), 10.734, 11.632 *legitque virum vir* and Furius Bibaculus *Ann. frgm.* 108 *viro vir.* The scene has been discussed by Macrob. *Sat.* 6.3.5. Compare similar scenes of hand-to-hand fighting in Stat. *Theb.* 8.398 ff. *iam clipeus clipeis, umbone repellitur umbo, / ense minax ensis, pede pes et cuspide cuspis, / sic obnixa acies; pariter suspiria fumant, / admotaeque nitent aliena in casside cristae,* Sil. 9.322 ff. *galea horrida flictu / adversae ardescit galeae, clipeusque fatiscit / impulsu clipei atque ensis contunditur ense; / pes pede, virque viro teritur,* 4.352 f. *teritur iunctis umbonibus umbo, / pesque pedem premit.*

**galeis ... adactis** cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.446 ff. σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα, Ov. *Met.* 6.271 *ferro per pectus adacto,* 12.324 *fraxinus ... adacta est,* and VF 6.273 *telo ... adacto,* 6.307 f. *adacto / ense,* 3.164 *cuneisque ... adactis.* Since a weapon is more appropriate with *adigere* than a helmet as well as because of *galeas* in 186, Burman preferred *gladiis* Columbus (found in the notes of Heinsius). The conjecture would fit quite well, as conjectures normally do; but I doubt whether it is necessary to replace *galeis. galeis* agrees much better with *adflare.* For *adactus* see 273 n.

**adflavit** apparently the faces of the soldiers nearly touch each other. For the scene compare Stat. *Theb.* 8.400 *pariter suspiria fumant* in the passage quoted above. Some examples of *adflavit* in poetry are Verg. *G.* 1.250, Sil. 4.481.

**184 continuo** sc. "followed'.

**obitus** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.500 f. *caedes / diversas obitumque ducum.*

**perfracta ... arma (corporaque)** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.613 ff. *primique ruinam / dant sonitu ingenti perfractaque quadripedantum / pectora pectoribus rumpunt.*

**185 alternus cruor** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.560 *sed alternum sitis haurire cruorem*; for *alternus,* 'reciprocal', compare VF 6.363 *alternaeque virum non cedere dextrae,* Prop. 2.30.21 *alterna ... caede,* Luc. 5.1 *alterna ... bellorum volnera.* For the anaphora of *alternus* compare various examples in 183 n. or in the note on 184 *perfracta ... arma* above.

**ruinae** cf. Liv. 23.25.3 *adhortatus ne, qui Cannensi ruinae non succubuissent, ad minores calamitates animos summitterent,* Verg. *A.* 11.310 *cetera qua rerum iaceant perculsa ruina,* Luc. 3.290 f. *tot immensae comites missura ruinae / excivit populos ... (fortuna).*

**186 volvit ager galeas** an unusual enallage of helmets that roll along driven by the field, instead of actively rolling across a passive field. *volvit* may be derived from Verg. *A.* 1.100 f. *tot Simois .../ scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit* (the plain as a moving river, Vaalburg, unpublished).

**egerit C**; *erigit* **V+L**, printed by Thilo, Giarratano, Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers. *egerit* has found the support of Heinsius, Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Bury, Mozley. *egerit* is given the compliment by Strand 113 of being not a bad correction, although found 'in an inferior Ms.'. (Strand proposed *exigit,* quoting 2.475, 3.382, 4.633, 6.704 ff.). In TLL 5.2.243.5 ff. and 63 ff. for the sense 'to pour forth, discharge' of *egerere* several examples are given: Ov. *Met.* 10.136 *egesto sanguine,* Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.37 *contra fons egerit aquam et recipit,* Amm. 22.15.23 *cruor egestus*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.488 *egerit hic fluctus.*

**imbres/ (sanguineos)** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.339 f. quoted below (188 n.), Stat. *Theb.* 1.438 *sanguineo ... imbre.*

**187 hinc ... glomerantur ovatus/ (hinc gemitus)** cf. Sil. 2.221 *(apes) raucum connexae glomerant ad limina murmur* about bees compared to warriors. The noun *ovatus* is a *hapax legomenon* according to TLL *s.v.* The scene is based upon Homer (*Il.* 4.451 ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων); see above. Garson 1970:183 translates 'the barbarians swarm, here exulting, there groaning'. For *hinc gemitus* cf. Verg. *A.* 6.557 *hinc exaudiri gemitus* (under hellish justice) = *A.* 7.15 (of Circe's lions), Sil. 14.557 *hinc clamor gemitus illinc* (during the battle).

**barbarici ... ovatus** 'of the barbarians', as in 8.459 *barbaricae ... iuventae,* with overtones of 'shouting in a foreign language'.

**188 mixtaeque virum cum pulvere vitae** the sense cannot be far off from "(still) living bodies (*vitae virum*) lying in the dust" (Pius). This could well be a variant of the 'blood mixed with sand' motif, as in Verg. *A.* 12.339 f. *spargit rapida ungula rores/ sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena,* in particular because the model scene Hom. *Il.* 4.446-451 ends with ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα (Vaalburg, unpublished) and *A.* 11.634 f. has *permixti caede virorum/ semianimes volvuntur equi.*

*

189. Caspius Aeaeum correpto crine Monaesen
190. abstulit; hinc pariter Colchi Graique sequuntur
191. missilibus; rapit ille necem praedamque relinquit

192. nec sociis iam cura viri. Dipsanta Caresus
193. Strymonaque obscura spargentem vulnera funda
194. deicit. Albani cadit ipse Chremedonis hasta
195. iamque latet currusque super turmaeque feruntur.

B.1.b. *189-195. The first names.*
Gradually we change from tribes and parties to individuals.

**189 Caspius** if a personal name, as would be normal in this type of battle-scene, derived from his nationality. *ille* 191 = *Caspius.* Otherwise 'a Caspian'; the ambiguity seems to be deliberate and offers a perfect transition from anonymity to individual heroes.

**correpto crine** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.616 *correpto crine* in the completely different context of an athletic contest.

**Monaeses** Heeren 17, advocates the alternative spelling (*Moneses* Mss.); cf. the name of the king of the Parthians Μοναίσης, Plut. *Ant.* 37, 46, Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.9. See 651.

**190 abstulit** equivalent to 'to kill'; cf. Verg. *A.* 11.28 *(quos) .../ abstulit atra dies*, Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.4.

**hinc** (Mss.); *hunc* Maserius, printed by Thilo, Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Bury, Giarratano, Mozley, is illogical. The Greeks and Colchians pursue Caspius, who was first-named and should be *ille*, not *hic*, apart from the fact that *hic* and *ille* so close by are unlikely to refer to the same person. No change is needed. 'As a consequence, Greeks and Colchians similarly pursue <him> with missiles'; but he snatches death, <kills Monaeses, yet > has to leave the booty; and ... (see below).

**191 missilibus** compare on the peculiar ablative Kleywegt 1986 : 2457 (formed on the analogy of *oculis sequi*).

**rapit ille necem** on *rapere* in VF see Wijsman *ad* 5.41; the present expression is quite bold and indicates that the Caspian has to leave the corpse in a hurry, without having time to take the spoils. *pedem* Meyncke 1865:48, quoting Sen. *Med.* 380 *quo rapis tectis pedem?*, is an excellent suggestion.

**praedamque relinquit** cf. (from TLL 10.2.528.54 f.) Caes. *Gal.* 6.35.10, Verg. *A.* 3.244.

**192 nec sociis iam cura viri** 'and the dead Monaeses is no longer an object of care for his friends'.

**Dipsanta** from Διψάς, a serpent, mentioned in Nicander *Ther.* 334 ff. as inducing an unquenchable thirst with its bite (from διψάω, 'to thirst'), and found here and there in Latin (Luc., Plin., Mart., Sil., Claud.). He must be fighting on the Colchian side because Caresus is stricken by an Albanian lance (cf. 5.459).

**Caresus** cf. the river Κάρησος in the Troas, Hom. *Il.* 12.20. Rivers are frequently sources of names; Fordyce *ad* Verg. *A.* 7.532 gives a list of examples from Vergil. Other instances in VF are Iaxartes 5.596, Choaspes 5.584 (to be found after line 604) and in Book 6 Cyris 80, Tyra 84, Strymon 193, Ocheus 200, Hypanis 252, Cyrnus 297, Hebrus 618, Myraces 690. In the *Iliad* Skamandrius 6.402 and Satnius 14.443 occur.

**193 Strymonaque** the Στρυμών, a river again, separating Thracia from Macedonia.

**obscura ... funda** the death caused by a sling apparently comes out of the air, as if from nowhere, the sling responsible is not visible. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.9.19 *scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat,/ omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus*, Mart. 1.78.5 in the golden line *nec tamen obscuro pia polluit ora veneno.*

**spargentem vulnera funda** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.744 *spargit torquens volucri nova vulnera plumbo.* He spreads around missiles, *causes* of wounds; cf. Langen *ad* VF 3.197 and Kleywegt 1986:2471, pointing to 1.420 ff., 6.132 f., on the analogy of *tela spargere.* For *vulnus* used for the weapon see 653 n.

**194 deicit** cf. 218, 552. Found as first word in the line and with a personal name as object at Verg. *A.* 10.753 (with Harrison), 11.642, Sil. 15.464 *deicit Galam*, Stat. Theb. 12.743 *(hunc) deicit.* (In VF 7.514 *dei-* is in synizesis; see Stadler *ad loc.*).

**Albani** see 44 n.

**cadit ... hasta** a stark instumental ablative; however, cf. Verg. *A.* 10.830 *Aeneae magni dextra cadis.* See 214.

**ipse** Caresus. For *cadit ipse* cf. Verg. *A.* 12.460 *cadit ipse Tolumnius augur* where *ipse* does not refer back, and Stat. *Theb.* 9.875 *tunc cadit ipse Dryas*, where the actual falling down is the end of a series of events.

**Chremedonis** Chremodonidis **V**, Chremedonidis **L**, Chremedonis **C**. The first two of these are metrically impossible. Heeren 21, writing Cremedon, cites C(h)remetaon in Stat. *Theb.* 7.712

*falcato ... Chremetaona curru* (*v.l. Cremethaona, Chremetona*). Now a good part of *Theb.7* is based upon *Arg.6* (Smolenaars *passim*), and in this case it is indeed striking that the *falcatus currus* appeared in 105. Yet the *Thebaid* is about Greeks, the present person is an Albanian.

**195 iamque latet** 'and already is lost from view' (Mozley).

**super** in tmesis. *superferre* in the literal sense is used, *e.g.*, in Plin. *Nat.* 32.133. For the crushing of corpses under chariots cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.534 στείβοντες νέκυας, 16.378 ὑπὸ δ' ἄξοσι φῶτες ἔπιπτον, 20.498 f. ἵπποι/ στεῖβον ... νέκυας, Verg. *A.* 12.329 f. *agmina curru/ proterit*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.741 *proculcantes ... funera currus.* See also 414, 522 with nn.

*

196. processere Melas et Idasmenus. incipit hasta
197. ante Melas, levis ast abies elusit utrumque.
198. ensibus inde ruunt. prior occupat aere citato
199. cassidis ima Melas, infracta est vulnere cervix.
200. mixta perit virtus: nescit cui debeat Ocheus
201. aut cui fata Tyres. dum sibila respicit Iron
202. cuspidis Argivae, Pyliam latere accipit hastam.

B.1.c. *196-202. Several heroes.*
Now one name after the other, preparing the way for Castor.

**196 processere** cf. (from martial contexts) Verg. *A.* 10.751 *pedes et Lycius processerat Agis*, 12.121 *procedit legio Ausonidum*, 169 *(Aeneas et Ascanius) procedunt castris.*

**Melas et Idasmenus** Melas, son of Phrixus, 5.461. Apparently he will kill Idasmenus whose name is only mentioned here and about whom we do not know anything more than that he is on the Scythian side.

**incipit hasta** according to TLL 7.1.913.39 an isolated instance of *incipere* without an object and construed with an ablative. Kleywegt 1986:2456 compares VF 7.433 *nec quibus incipiat demens videt*, where *incipere* stands for 'to begin to speak'. Ending the hexameter with *hasta* (ablative) in both lines 194 and 196 does not strike me as good poetry.

**197 (incipit) ... ante** (adverb): Melas begins (to fight) with the lance, he was first. There is a certain tautology here.

**abies** for a lance also below, 236, and in Verg. *A.* 11.667 *longa transverberat abies pectus*, Sil. 4.255 *fata extrema ferens abies*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.552 *it tremibunda abies clipeum per.* Both men throw their lances.

**elusit utrumque** 'their lances play both men false' (Mozley). Both men missed, and therefore have to resort to the sword.

**198 ensibus inde ruunt** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.461 *illi armis in regna ruunt. ensibus ruunt* balances *incipit hasta.*

**occupat** cf., *e.g.*, Verg. *A.* 9.770, 10.699.

**aere citato** cf. Sil 9.592 f. *citato ... ense*, 4.536 *citat ... hastam*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.125 *tunc arma citat. aes* used for 'sword' is interesting, this being the only instance mentioned in TLL *s.v.* amidst some helmets and several shields.

**199 cassidis ima** through the lower rim of the helmet, reaching the neck.

**infracta ... cervix** cf. *ossa infracta*, Plin. *Nat.* 23.24,28,119.

**vulnere cervix** in sound resembles Verg. *G.* 3.524 *pondere cervix.*

**200 mixta perit virtus** cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.227 *fraude perit virtus*, Luc. 4.491 *perit obruta virtus.* The meaning of *mixta perit virtus* is not obvious; Mozley's translation 'in the mêlée valour goes for naught' is excellent: Ocheus, Tyres and Iron do not know who brought them low in so close a combat. Anyhow, the agent bringing them down is blind *fate*, so Vaalburg (unpublished) rightly sees an allusion to Verg. *Aen.* 12.714 *fors et virtus miscetur in unum.*

**Ocheus** Heeren 49 thinks the root is the Persian name Ὦχος, after the river Ochus. On river names see 192 n. The name was used for Artaxerxes Ochus, Diod. Sic. 17.5.3, Plut. *Alex.* 69.

**201 Tyres** Τύρα, Τύρας, Τύρης, Τύρις = Djnestr; cf. 6.84. See preceding n.

**Iron** I could not unearth this name in Heeren's publication and fail myself to find a clue to its origin.

**sibila** *sibilum* = *sibulus*, 'a sibilant sound' as in Catul. 4.12 *saepe sibilum edidit*, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.82 *sibilus Austri*, Lucr. 5.1382 *Zephyri ... sibila.*

**202. Pyliam... hastam** from Pylos; possibly 'from Greece', but more likely to be specific and meaning 'through the hands of Periclymenus or Nestor', sons of Neleus, king of Pylos. Nisbet/

Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.22 mention the ruins of the important palace with Linear-B tablets north of Navarino, the Pylos of the battle of 425 BC. For *Pylius* compare Hom. *Il.* 1.248, Ov. *Met.* 8.365.

B.2. *203-264: Aristeia of Castor.*

It starts with a diptych of 8+8 lines (203-210, 211-218) separated by *at* (211). Shelton 342 comments: 'Possibly one reason for the inclusion of such an *aristeia* here for Castor is to balance the great moment of glory given to Pollux in the Bebrycian episode'.

*

203. viderat Hyrcanos paribus discurrere fratres
204. Castor equis, pater armento quos dives ab omni
205. nutrierat fatisque viam monstrarat iniquis.
206. tum magis atque magis peditem candore notato
207. Tyndariden incendit amor, simul obvius hastam
208. pectus in adversum graviter iacit alipedemque
209. insilit excusso victor duce. risit ab alta
210. nube pater prensisque equitem cognovit habenis.

B.2.a. *203-218. Castor and the horses.*
For the scene there are several models with brothers or twins (often giving each other mutual assistance) being killed together, most of them cited by Raabe 221 n.14: Hom. *Il.* 11.426-458 Charops and Socus fighting against Odysseus, *Il.* 5.152-165 Xanthus and Thoon (twins), 5.159-164 Chromius and Echemmo, 6.21-28 Aesepus and Pedasus (twins), Verg. *A.* 10.390-396 Larides and Thymber (twins), 12.342-345 Glaucus and Lades, Ov. *Met.* 5.107-109 Broteas and Amnon (twins), 5.140 Clytius and Clanis), Stat. *Theb.* 2.629-643 (only Periphas is named), 8.448 (a horrible case of two pairs of twin brothers each killing his own twin), 9.274 f. Tages and Agenor, Sil. 2.636-649 (identical twins), 4.355 ff. and 13.191 ff. (three brothers).

**203 Hyrcanos ... fratres** only one is named, Medores in 211; editors who follow **R** (1488) in printing *Gelae* 208 have the other as well. They ride on similar horses.

**discurrere** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.580 *olli discurrere pares* (in the *lusus Troiae)*, Liv. 7.33.11 *cum equites consulis iussa discurrunt in cornua*, Claud. 28(*VI cos. Hon)*.633 *in varios docto discurritur ordine gyros.*

**204 Castor** his horse Cyllarus is mentioned in 1.426 (assigned to Pollux in Verg. *G.* 3.89-90, on which see Thomas). Castor was ἱππόδαμος in Hom. *Il.* 3.237.

**pater ... dives** a motif from Homer, where a ransom is offered, or as a *topos* in an epitaph; cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.14, model for Verg. *A.* 7.537 *qui fuit ... olim ditissimus arvis.* Here only mentioned to stress the quality of the horses.

**armento ... ab omni** *armentum* for horses not nearly as frequent as for cattle; examples are Verg. *A.* 3.540, *G.* 3.129, Stat. *Theb.* 4.242, 4.812, and more specifically for a herd of horses Verg. *A.* 11.494 *armenta equarum.*

**205 nutrierat** there is correption of the *-i*; the perfect is *nutrii* or *nutrivi* (Kösters 81; some examples of similar perfect forms on *-ii* in Fucecchi *ad* 710). In Vergil forms like *audiit, audierat, audierit,* etc., all show the same short *-i.*

**fatisque viam monstrarat iniquis** care of the horses will be fatal to the sons. Compare Verg. *A.* 2.257 *fatisque deum defensus iniquis,* 3.17 *loco fatis ingressus iniquis,* or 10.380 f. *obvius huic primum fatis adductus iniquis / fit Lagus.* Later used also by Ovid, Lucian, Seneca and Statius. The phrase *fatis iniquis* may ultimately be based upon Hom. *Il.* 13.602 μοῖρα κακὴ θανάτοιο.

**viam monstrarat** cf., *e.g.,* Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.65 *ire viam qua monstret eques.*

**206 magis atque magis** Verg. *G.* 3.185 f. *tum magis atque magis gaudere magistri / laudibus,* about a horse, or *A.* 2.299 *et magis atque magis,* 12.239 *iam magis atque magis,* Luc. 6.98, 9.942, Stat. *Theb.* 5.326, 8.521.

**peditem** the appositional substantive explains his yearning, because Castor is known as an experienced horseman, while he sees a good horse that is *alipedem.* As soon as he has got the horse he is called ***equitem*** (210).

**candore notato** modelled upon Hom. *Il.* 10.436 f., where Dolon describes the horses of Rhesus as whiter than snow, τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἠδὲ μεγίστους,/ λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.84 *(equos) qui candore nives anteirent,* 3.538 *(equos) candore nivali,* 10.575 f. *interea biiugis infert se Lucagus albis / in medios fraterque Liger* (a pair of brothers), Stat. *Theb.* 6.330 *nivei dant colla iugales,* Suet. *Aug.* 94.6 *equis candore eximio.* Quality horses had already

been mentioned in 146 f. *Exomatas venatus alit nec clarior ullis/ Arctos equis.* Interestingly in Ov. *Met.* 8.373 f., *ambo conspicui, nive candidioribus ambo/ vectabantur equis* both Tyndarids ride on greys, which seems to be their preference.

**207 Tyndariden** step-son of Τυνδάρεος, the husband of Leda, mother by Zeus of Castor and Helen; *Tyndarides* not in Homer, current since ARh.

**incendit amor** cf. Catul. 64.19 *Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore,* 253 *Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore,* Verg. *A.* 2.343, Sen. *Ag.* 189.

**obvius hastam** the ending similar to Verg. *A.* 10.877 *et infesta subit obvius hasta.* The use of *obvius* may have been suggested by *A.* 10.380 f. (see 205 n.).

**208 pectus in adversum** substantive and adjective also in (TLL 1.865.30 ff.) Verg. *A.* 10.571, 9.347, Ov. *Met.* 4.803, 15.161 f., Liv. 26.15.15, Sen. *Ag.* 232, Sil. 15.382, 17.485.

**graviter iacit** from **C**; Ehlers printed † **gleacit** † **V+L**, many other editors *Gelae iacit* from the obscure and late **R**. It seems best to follow **C** in spite of **R** naming one of the brothers. *graviter* can be interpreted as 'violently'; cf. Caes. *Gal.* 3.14.4 *ut ... tela... missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent.*

**alipedemque/ (insilit)** *alipes* can be used in epic as a substantive and a synonym of '*equus*' (cf. Verg. *A.* 7.277, and several times in the *Thebaid*: 5.699, 6.298, 9.206, 9.580, 11.198). *alipes* is more often an adjective ('fleet'), for instance in VF 5.183, 5.611. Dewar *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 9.206 cites Hollis *ad* Ov. *Met.* 8.376 on the use of other 'kennings' like *saetiger, balentes, sonipes* (see 214 n.), etc.

**209 insilit** Heinsius for *constitit* Mss. *insilire equum* is found in Sal. *Hist. frg.* 5.5 Maur. (from TLL 7.1.1910.69). *insilire* can be construed with *in* (*e.g.,* Liv. 6.7.3) or transitively (as in Sal.). Transitive *consistere* is unknown. Yet Thilo, Schenkl, Bury and Courtney printed *constitit*; Kramer obelized it and assumed a lacuna. Ehlers, Mozley and Langen printed *insilit,* Baerens conjectured *adstitit,* Giarratano *contigit.* The corruption cannot easily be explained, unless *constitit* was copied from the *Aeneid* where it opens the line nine times.

**victor** similarly following the penthemimeres in Verg. *G.* 4.85 *aut hos versa fuga victor dare terga subegit, A.* 6.804, 12.383, 11.4, 11.44.

**risit ab alta (nube pater)** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.454 f. *hunc laudat ab alto/ Iuppiter*, *Ach.* 1.643 *risit chorus omnis ab alto* (stars).

**210 nube pater** For Jupiter residing upon a cloud compare Verg. *A.* 9.640 *nube sedens (Apollo)* or 12.791 f. *Iunonem .../ ... de nube tuentem*, 810 *aeria ... nunc sede*, 842 *nubemque relinquit.* In ARh 2.538 f. Athena steps upon a cloud as if it were a vehicle. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.232 f. *stat ... in alta/ nube ... Mavors*, Sil. 17.341 f. *aeria speculantem nube sororem/ ut vidit divum genitor*, 9.553 f. *abit Gradivus in altas/ ... nubes.*

**prensisque habenis** after 'he knew (recognized) his horseman' a causal ablative can follow (as in Mozley, 'by his handling of the reins'); or the ablative phrase is to be taken temporally, 'he knew him again for a horseman after he had taken the reins'.

**equitem** see 206 n. *peditem.*

*

211. at pariter luctuque furens visuque Medores
212. Tyndariden petit et superos sic voce precatur:
213. 'hunc age vel caeso comitem me reddite fratri!
214. primus at hic nostra sonipes cadat impius hasta
215. credita qui misero non rettulit arma parenti
216. meque venit contra captivaque terga ministrat.'
217. dixerat. Actaei sed eum prior hasta Phaleri
218. deicit; ad socias sonipes citus effugit alas.

**211 luctuque ... visuque** for *-que ...-que* see 21 n.

**Medores** the name may have something to do with Μέδων in a Lycian context in Hom. *Il.* 17.216, or with the Centaur (named after the Lycian?) in Ov. *Met.* 12.303.

**212 superos sic voce precatur** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.784 *(Arruns)*, 9.403 *Lunam et sic voce precatur.* Shelton 343: 'There is irony in the fact that Medores invokes the *superos*, just after it has been made clear to the reader that Jupiter is on the side of Castor'.

**213 ff** 'Come, even if I am killed, make this one (= Castor) a comrade to my brother (sc. in death); but may first this evil horse fall under our lance, that has not brought back to the miserable parent the entrusted arms and attacks **me** and supplies its back in captivity'.

**hunc ... comitem ... reddite fratri** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.881 *misero fratri comes ire per umbras* (Juturna speaking). For the scene compare Verg. *A.* 10.600 *morere et fratrem ne desere frater.* There is no need to change *hunc* (Castor) to *nunc* (Pius, Baehrens, Mozley).

**age reddite** *age* used as an interjection often in combination with a plural following; see K/S 1.59, 1.200, or Wijsman *ad* VF 5.538. The conjecture *date* (Morel 213) is quite logical, but spoils the Latin.

**vel caeso ... me** Samuelsson 1930: 172 ff. first pointed a way out of the difficult text: at first sight *me* seems an accusative, but it is better taken as an ablative absolute. *vel* can be used absolutely in its sense of 'even' going with *caeso me.* Replacing *et hic* (214, **V**) by a second *vel* (Baehrens, followed by Mozley) seems arbitrary.

**214 at** Schenkl, Langen, Bury, Courtney, Ehlers for *et* **V+L**, Thilo, Giarratano, Kramer, since a contrast between Castor and the unfaithful horse is needed.

**sonipes ... impius** *impius* is an unusual epiphet of animals (TLL 7.1.623.55 ff.). The horse is faithless by tolerating Castor. How different this horse from Mezentius' horse Rhaebus, that according to its master would never *iussa aliena pati* (Verg. *A.* 10.866), or the horse of Cloelius (Sil. 10.458 ff.) throwing off his captor and trying to save his master. The horse seems more like that of Pterelas in Stat. *Theb.* 7.632 *sonipes male fidus in armis,* where VF may have been the model. In *Theb.* 9.211 the horse of Tydeus is addressed and asked to avenge his master. The word *sonipes* is specific for poetry and occurs thrice in the *Aeneid,* not in Ov. *Met.*, 11 times in Luc., four times in Sen. *Trag.*, six times in VF, 10 times in the *Thebaid,* 29 times in Sil. (cf. 208 n.)

**cadat** given the equal manuscript authority for the variants *cadat* **L** (printed by Schenkl, Baehrens, Bury, Kramer, Mozley, Ehlers) and *cadet* **V** (printed by Thilo, Langen, Giarratano, Courtney), *cadat* may in a prayer be more appropriate. *cadat hasta* follows closely upon line 194; see 194 n., 196 n.

**215 misero parenti** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.262 *miseri ... parentes* (the parents of Leander), *A.* 11.63 *misero sed debita patri* (the body of Pallas to Euander), 12.932 *miseri te si qua parentis / ... cura* (Turnus about Daunus).

**216 meque venit contra** according to TLL 4.750.9 ff. *contra venire* is normally used in the context of a court case. Hence the ex-

pression is peculiar; however, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.354 *contra venit aspera mater*, though it is not yet openly aggressive. There may be influence of *tendere contra*, as in Verg. *A.* 5.27, 9.377, 768, 795. Also *tendere in* occurs (Verg. *A.* 12.917 *tendat in hostem*). See also 375 n. — Postposition of *contra* also in 1.151, 3.706, 4.94, 4.165, 6.178, 6.373, 7.362 (Contino), or Verg. *A.* 11.282, 12.279, 12.779.

**captivaque terga** cf. Sil. 10.460 *quem tum captivo portabat in agmina dorso*; according to TLL 3.374.27 *captivus* often occurs in enallage.

**217 Actaei** 'Athenian', cf. Hesych. *s.v.*: Ἀκταία· ἡ Ἀττικὴ πρώτως οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. From the old codex of Carrio comes the solution for these lines: *Actaei sed eum prior hasta Phaleri.*

**eum** an unusual oblique case of *is*, eight times in Vergil, amongst which once *eam*. According to Axelson 71 in silver Latin poetry only in Luc. 3.611 (*eam)*, 4.546, VF 6.115, 217.

**Phaleri C**; *parenti* **V+L** (no doubt because of 215 *parenti*). Phalerus was a Greek of some importance in Thessaly, grandson of Athenian Erechtheus, only son of Alcon (ARh 1.95), mentioned by VF in 1.398, 4.654; cf. Strabo 14.6.3 = C683, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.9.

**218 ad socias ... alas** that is, the horse is no traitor as the other horse is supposed to be.

*

219. Quis tibi fatales umquam metuisset Amyclas
220. Oebaliamque manum, tot, Rhyndace, montibus inter
221. diviso totidemque fretis? cadit impiger una
222. inguine transfosso clari Taulantis alumnus
223. semidea genetrice Tages, cui plurima silvis
224. pervigilat materna soror cultusque laborat.

B.2.b. *219-255. Various chieftains.*
Rich Tages falls; Sarmatian cavalry is baffled by Castor. Other heroes join the fray.

**219 tibi** goes with *fatales*, sc. *esse* or *fore.*

**Amyclas** town in Laconia, one hour from Sparta, home of the Tyndarids; cf. 4.312 *Pollux ego missus Amyclis.* Further mentioned by Verg. *G.* 3.89, Ov. *Ars* 2.5, Stat. *Theb.* 7.413, *Ach.* 1.21, *Silv.* 4.8.29.

**220 Oebaliam** = "Spartan", after Oebalus, king of Sparta, father of Tyndareus; cf. 4.272 *Oebalia ... arte*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.822 *Oebalio ... magistro* (of Pollux).

**tot ... montibus inter ... totidemque fretis** cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.156 f. ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ/ οὔρεα τε σκιόεντα θάλασσα τε ἠχήεσσα, where Achilles stresses the distance between Troy and Phthia, implying that there is no good reason for enmity. Pathetically VF points to the triviality of the reasons why Castor kills Rhyndacus. Here *diviso*, itself agreeing with *tibi*, goes with *montibus, fretis*. *inter* is used adverbially, as it is only in VF (TLL 7.1.2148.22 ff.), always at the end of the line; also 5.336, 8.303, 8.382.

**Rhyndace** again (see 192) named after a river, the border between Mysia and Bithynia, passed by in ARh 1.1165 (followed by *Arg. Orph.* 632), VF 3.35; further mentioned in Strabo 12.3.22 = C551, 12.8.11 = C576, Plin. 5.123, 142.

**221 impiger** 'active', with overtones from expressions like Cic. *Font.* 43 *virum ad labores belli impigrum*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.22 f. *impiger hostium/ vexare turmas*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.48.1 *impiger militiae.*

**222 inguine transfosso** for wounds in the genital region compare Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.635, as well as Hom *Il.* 4.492 (the groin), 5.67 (the bladder), 13.567 f. (the lower belly), and Verg. *A.* 10.589 *(hasta) tum laevum perforat inguen.* For *transfodere* cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.20.2 *quamquam transfosso oculo.*

**clari** cf., of other famous men, Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.29 *abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem*, Ov. *Ep.* 4.93 *clarus erat silvis Cephalus.*

**Taulantis** the Taulantii were an Illyrian tribe, mentioned by Plin. 3.144 *proprieque dicti Illyri et Taulanti et Pyraei*, Taulas being their eponymous hero; cf. Luc. 6.16 *Taulantius incola.*

**alumnus** cf. Verg. *A.* 6.595 *Terrae omniparentis alumnum.* Servius *ad loc.* explains that there are two stories about the Earth and Tityon, that he was her son or her foster-son. In Vergil's model Hom. *Od.* 11.376 the word υἱόν is used.

**223 semidea genetrice** cf. Ov. *Ep.* 4.49 *semideae Dryades*, *Met.* 1.192 f. *sunt mihi semidei, sunt, rustica numina, Nymphae/, Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani*, *Ib.* 81 f., Stat. *Theb.* 9.376 *semidei ... parentes* (of Crenaeus, son of Faunus and Ismenis the river-daughter).

**Tages** a name found in Ov. *Met.* 15.558 for an Etruscan.

Interestingly, the name can also be found in Stat. *Theb.* 9.270 in many editions, though not in Hill's, who has *Sagen.* Dewar *ad loc.* describes *Tages* as an Etruscan name, without any link to the Scythian.

**plurima (... materna soror)** for *plurima* in the singular compare 1.677 f. *plurimus ... honos*, 6.262 *plurima ... harundo*, Verg. *G.* 1.187 *nux plurima.* The sisters must be wood-nymphs.

**224 pervigilat** also opening the hexameter in Verg. *G.* 1.292.

**materna soror ... laborat** in the background may be a verse such as Verg. *A.* 10.818 *tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro*; cf. VF 6.710 *parens signaverat auro*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.691 f. (about Parthenopaeus) *hoc neverat unum/ mater opus* (with Dewar), 8.564 ff. *triplici velaverat ostro/ ... umeros et levia mater/ pectora.* There, as here, the care bestowed by loving relatives increases the pathos. For transitive *laborare* compare Verg. *A.* 8.181, Hor. *Epod.* 5.60, VF 5.225, Stat. *Theb.* 3.279 f. *ornatusque novos ipsique laboret/ arma tibi.*

**cultus** clothes; compare Stat. *Theb.* 6.79 ff. (for the dead young prince Archemorus) *quas non in nomen credula vestes/ urgebat studio* ***cultus****que insignia regni/ purpureos sceptrumque minus?*

*

225. tenuia non illum candentis carbasa lini,
226. non auro depicta chlamys, non flava galeri
227. caesaries pictoque iuvant subtegmine bracae.
228. iamque novus mediae stupefacta per agmina pugnae
229. vadit eques densa spargens hastilia dextra
230. fulmineumque viris proturbans ingerit ensem
231. huc alternus et huc, cum saevior ecce iuventus
232. Sarmaticae coiere manus fremitusque virorum
233. semiferi.

**225-227** That external brilliance does not avert fate is a motif from Hom. *Il.* 2.872-875. Vergil gives an elaborate description of the apparel of Chloreus (*Aen.* 11.775-777), but there Camilla desires the flamboyant dress and therefore kills him.

**225 tenuia** scanned as a dactyl, the *-u-* interpreted as a consonant making position, as thrice in Vergil (*G.* 1.397, 2.121, 4.38).

**candentis** the first of a series of adjectives indicating bright colours, followed by *auro, depicta, flava, picto* (Shelton 343).

**carbasa** plural of *carbasus*; cf. 5.424, Verg. *A.* 8.33 f. In the scenes of Chloreus *A.* 11.775 f. *(sinus/ carbaseos)* and of Eunaeus *Theb.* 7.658 *carbasei sinus* the linen recurs.

**lini** **C**, *nili* **V+L**; compare 5.624 *vidi* Mss. with *divi* Gronovius. *Nili* was probably a scribe's mistake, with the *carbasa* of the 'Egyptian' Colchians mentioned in 5.423 in mind.

**226** **auro depicta chlamys** cf. Ap. *Met.* 10.20 *stragula veste auro ac murice Tyro depicta*, Suet. *Cal.* 52 *depictas gemmatasque indutus paenulas*, Man. 5.261 *veris depinget prata figuris.*

**227** **(flava galeri) caesaries** Langen argues that this cannot be an instance of *caesaries* referring to the crest on the helmet (as Mozley nevertheless translates it), and that it must mean the hair of which the helmet is made, adducing Verg. *A.* 7.688 f. *fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros/ tegmen habent capiti*, Grat. 272 f. *discretaque collo/ caesaries*, Claud. 22(*Stil.2*).471 f. *caesariem ... alipedum* for a reference to animal hairs (this in spite of Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 1.590 *a caedendo docta caesaries, ergo tantum virorum est* (TLL 3.109.11 ff.). The *galerus* (hat made of fur: see also 379 n.) and the real helmet (*cassis*) are distinguished in Stat. *Theb.* 4.302 ff.

For statistics of the frequency of the word *caesaries* in poetry see Antolín 120. *flava* refers to 'fair', 'blond' hair and may imply that the fur has been coloured, like the linen, the robe, and the trousers; or the hat has been made of some yellow-coloured desert animal. In any case it is conspicuous and elegant, not primitive as in Verg. *A.* 7.688 f. *fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros/ tegmen habent capiti.* The effect will have been that the hat looked like a Scythian's hair.

**subtegmine** not frequent (Catul. 64.327, VF 8.234 *croceo subtegmine vestes*), more often *subtemen*, as in [Tib.] 3.7.121 *fulgentem Tyrio subtemine vestem*, or Verg. *A.* 3.483 *fert picturatas auri subtemine vestis.*

**bracae** see Wijsman *ad* VF 5.423; in addition associated with Getae and Persians in Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.19, 5.10.34. See also 702 n.

**228** The line here, its logical place, in **L** as well as in Carrio's edition; after 246 in **V**.

**mediae ... pugnae** see 180 n.

**per agmina ... (vadit)** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.358 f. *per hostis/ vadimus.*

**229** **densa ... hastilia** since the *-a-* in *densa* is in any case long by position the word could be taken with *dextra*; Strand 113 f. defended

an ablative. *Contra* Wijsman 1996 p. 100 *densa hastilia* is formed on the analogy of Verg. *A.* 11.650 *et nunc lenta manus spargens hastilia denset* (from the Camilla episode 11.648 ff.; *lenta* with *hastilia* as in 12.489).

**spargens** cf. Enn. *Var.*8. frg. 14 *sparsis hastis longis*, Verg. *A.* 12.50 f. *ferrum haud debile dextra/ spargimus.* See also 133 and 193.

**230 fulmineumque ... ensem** cf. Verg. *A.* 4.579 f., Luc. 6.239, Stat. *Theb.* 10.271 f.

**proturbans** from **C** (*vet. cod.*); **V** read *profundis*, **L** *profundens. profundis* seems unsuitable, and has led to many a conjecture (*profusis* Baehrens, *pro fundis* Koestlin, Bury ('instead of the slings'), *procumbens* Renkema, *propulsis* Strand). *profundens* ('laying low') as well as *proturbans* ('driving forth in confusion') have manuscript authority; the first finds support in Lucr. 6.744 *cadunt ... profusae*, 4.757 *somnus membra profudit* (Langen), the second in Sil. 9.447 *at Mavors moto proturbans aera telo*, Verg. *A.* 9.440 f. *quem glomerati hostes ..../ proturbant.* Both verbs occur in VF elsewhere: in 3.3 and 6.106 in the form *profusi*, and in 1.597 (*proturbat*). I incline to *proturbans* (already printed by Thilo).

**231 (ingerit ensem/) huc alternus et huc** also in 4.266; cf. Verg. *A.* 9.57 *huc turbidus atque huc/ lustrat. viris* goes with *ingerere.*

**cum ecce iuventus** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.86 ff. *ecce autem hortatus Eteoclis et arma secuti,/ lecta manus, iuvenes ... adventant.* 231. ff. can be understood as 'the fiercer manpower of the Sarmatian band with the savage roaring of the men has joined the battle' (with hendiadys of *manus* and *fremitus*). *iuventus Sarmaticae manus* can be interpreted in two ways. Here I have taken *Sarmaticae manus* as genitive, so that *iuventus* is construed *ad sententiam* with *coiere.* Alternatively, *Sarmaticae manus* can be nominative, in apposition to *iuventus*, followed by the plural *coiere.* The two forms *iuventa* and *iuventus* occur in VF 16 times and 7 times, respectively. In this respect he follows Ovid, while the others prefer *iuventus* (see table).

| | *iuventa* | *iuventus* | *iuventas* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verg. | 9 | 27 | 2 |
| Ovid | 11 | 5 | 0 |
| Luc. | 2 | 35 | 0 |
| VF | 16 | 7 | 0 |
| Stat. | 6 | 12 | 0 |
| Sil. | 15 | 27 | 0 |

**232 Sarmaticae ... manus** I have taken notice of Liberman's enthusiastic defence of Syme's conclusions, that is, that VF' detailed knowledge was derived from the campaigns of 89 or 92. I fail to see, however, how Tacitus could describe the Sarmatian tactics (*Hist.* 1.79) as shown in several Rhoxolanic raids of 62-70, but VF not just as well. As Nisbet states: 'All we can say is that about 62, the date we are considering for the *Thyestes*, the Rhoxolani were highly topical' (see Nisbet 1995 : 305).

**fremitusque virorum** cf. (in mock epic) Pl. *Am.* 232 f. *boat caelum fremitu virum.*

**233 semiferi** for the sense of 'brutish' OLD2 gives references to Pliny and Silius, indicating a silver Latin usage. In the more literal sense used in 51.

*

233. riget his molli lorica catena,
234. id quoque tegmen equis; at equi porrecta per armos
235. et caput ingentem campis hostilibus umbram
236. fert abies obnixa genu vaditque virum vi,
237. vadit equum, docilis relegi docilisque relinqui
238. atque iterum medios non altior ire per hostes.

**233 lorica** only here applied to horses, TLL 7.2.1677.54 f. The combination with *riget ... molli lorica catena* is an oxymoron, even if *molli* stands here for 'supple'.

**234 quoque** Langen points out that *quoque* goes with *equis*; see ad 1.360 Langen.

**tegmen** cf. Liv. 1.20.4 *super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen,* 5.38.8 *graves loricis alliisque tegminibus* (of humans). In Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.3/4 the cuirasses of the Sarmates themselves, not of their horses, are mentioned and the word *tegimen* used.

**equis** ed. 1523; *quis* **V+L**.

**234/237:** 'but stretched out beyond the shoulders of the horse and its head the fir casts an enormous shadow on the battle-field, having support on the knee, and with power 'forces its way' (Mozley) into man and horse, trained in ...'.

**at equi porrecta per armos** Carrio found in his *vet.codex*: *agitur porrecta per arma*, which does not improve the sense. **V** and **L** give

*age qui* and *armas*; *at equi* was first printed in the 1498 edition. There is every reason to conform to the traditional text of the various editors. *per* must be allowed the sense of 'beyond', like *praeter*.

**235 ingentem ... umbram** hyperbole, cf. Verg. *A.* 10.541 *ingentique umbra tegit* (of Aeneas); another gigantic lance in Stat. *Theb.* 12.730 ff. *quercum ... Theseus extulit, ... cuius crudelis in hostes / umbra cadit.*

**campis hostilibus** refined; *hostilis* not 'of the enemy' (let alone 'hostile'), but 'serving for hostilities'.

**236 abies** for a lance also VF 6.197 *levis ast abies.* See n.

**obnixa genu** cf. Sil. 15.684 f. *sustentata genu per campum pondera conti / Sarmatici prona adversos urgebat in hostes.*

**vaditque virum vi** 236/7 *vadit virum vi, vadit equum* may allude to 229 *vadit eques (per agmina)*, repeating at the end of a long sentence the key verb. I would greatly prefer, however, to interpret *vadit* as *invadit* (with accusative[13]), for which, however, I do not find a precedent. — *vis* Heinsius cannot be correct: the spear (*abies*) must be the subject of *fert, vadit, vadit,* because it is antecedent of *docilis.* The isolated monosyllable at the end of the line is very exceptional, although in the epic tradition. Koesters 54 mentions only 2.352 (see Poortvliet) and 7.355, both also with *vis*; Vergil has it more often and in particular with *vis*, as in *A.* 4.132 *canum vis* (see Austin's pertinent note) or *opum vi* (*A.* 9.532 and 12.552, based upon Ennius S... = V161 *opum vi.* I deem VF an author who, when writing *<in>vadit virum (=hominem) vi* is quite aware of the resemblance to *canum vis*, perhaps even enjoys it, and nevertheless does not use a genitive where the master did so.

**237 docilis relegi docilisque relinqui** (**L**, **V** reads *religi*). For *relinqui* Langen proposed *refingi*, Baerens *reponi*, Bury *refigi* or *recingi*, Delz 1991:13 *reduci*) 'trained to be drawn back or to be left alone, and then another time to go through the midst of the enemies in horizontal position'. For *docilis* as 'skilful to' + infinitive cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.1 *si manus aut similes docilis mihi fingere ceras (aut ...).*

---

[13] The spear would attack, with force, both man and horse. The alternative, to see in *virum* and *equum* genitives going with *vi* is somehow duller, though Latin. Cf. Verg. *A.* 10.310 f. *primus turmas invasit agrestis / Aeneas*, Col. 7.12.7 *vel constantius adpropinquantem violenter invadunt* (dogs), Liv. 3.49.4 *Valerium Horatiumque lictor ... invadit.*

**238 altior** **V+L**, *tardior* Heinsius, *parcior* Delz 1991:13. Syme[14] 133 has defended *altior*, explaining the tactics of heavy cavalry: they charge again with their lances no higher than before (*docilisque relinqui* taken parenthetically). Delz, however, invokes more literary arguments, quoting Ov. *Ars* 3.30 *parcius haec video tela nocere viris*, and Stat. *Theb.* 7.689 *(nec) parcior ad cives Polynicis inhorruit ensis*. The sense of the conjecture of Delz is excellent, and the corruption intelligible. Yet, *altior* still seems possible.

*

239. orbibus hos rapidis mollique per aequora Castor
240. anfractu levioris equi deludit anhelos
241. immemoresque mori; sed non isdem artibus aeque
242. concurrunt ultroque ruunt in funera Colchi.
243. Campesus impacta latus inter et ilia quercu
244. tollitur ac mediam moriens descendit in hastam.

**239 orbibus** for *orbes* made by a horse compare VF 2.387 *in laevos piger angitur orbes*, Verg. *A.* 5.584 f. *alternos orbibus orbis/ impediunt*, 10.885 *ter circum astantem laevis equitavit in orbis*, 12.743 *inde huc incertos implicat orbis*, as well as (from TLL 9.910.37 ff.) 11.694, Man. 5.82, Stat. *Theb.* 6.446 f., Sil. 2.170, 4.317, 7.644 f., 16.401. In view of the correspondence between 229 (see n.) and the Camilla episode *Aen.* 11.648 ff., our lines 239 ff. may be based upon the pursuit of Camilla by Orsilochus (*A.* 11.694 f. *magnum agitata per orbem/ eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem)*: the words *orbibus, anfractu* and *deludit* may refer to Castor similarly alluring the Colchians to their death by a pretended flight. Vaalburg (unpublished) points out that VF does not take the trouble to give a full explanation how the fleet horses probably seem to run away and then turn sharply and unexpectedly attack; the reader can derive that information from the model (*sequiturque sequentem)*.

**240** for the content cf. Sil. 7. 645 f. *flexo per devia gyris/ ludificatus equo.*
**(mollique) anfractu** normally of bends in roads or rivers; according to TLL *s.v.* here uniquely applied to horses; TLL compares Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.78 *haec diverticula et anfractus suffugia sunt infirmitatis, ut qui cursu parum valent, flexu eludunt.*

---

[14] R. Syme, The Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus, *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929) 129-137.

**levioris equi** *levis* for 'fast, nimble', as in Verg. *A.* 12.489 *levis cursu*, VF 1.389 *et levis Elis equis*, 6.697, Ov. *Met.* 15.181 *levis hora*, Sen. *Phoen.* 545 *equitatu levi*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.524, Sil. 3.385. In VF 3.554 the *levis cervus* seems almost to be flying.

**deludit anhelos** 'baffles them as they pant' (Mozley). For *deludere* with persons cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.19.33 *deludat amantem*, Hor. *S.* 2.5.56 *scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem* (TLL 5.1.473.5 ff.).

**241 mori** *modi* Edwards *C.R. n.s.* 4 (1954) 10, *morae* Kostlin 35, *doli* Watt 166. f. Ehlers 1971:131 defended *immemores mori*, quoting KS 1.683/687, Sz. 350 f., who compare for an infinitive depending on the adjective *memor*, *e.g.*, Pl. *Pseud.* 1104, Ov. *Am.* 3.14.48 *sit modo "non feci" dicere lingua memor*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.4.18 f. *memor penitus dimittere voces/ sturnus. immemor* is fairly frequent since the comic poets.

**non isdem artibus aeque (concurrunt)** the Colchians go for their heavy Sarmatian opponents, trusting in their own nimbleness; they charge in the same way as Castor, 'although not as skilful'. *viribus aequis* is Vergilian: *A.* 10.357, 431, 5.809; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.218 *ut ... cernunt non viribus aequis (aequos* conj. Schrader).

**242 concurrunt ultroque ruunt in funera** the combination *ruere in funera* is also found in 6.741 *ruit ... in funera Perses*; compare also 6.408 f. *in sua versi/ funera concurrunt* and Verg. *A.* 12.279 f. *caecique ruunt. quos agmina contra/ procurrunt ... ultro* has connotations of 'choosing to proceed recklessly', 'directly', since, by hoping to attack just as Castor did, they risk defeat against heavy odds; cf. (from OLD6) Verg. *A.* 10.312 f. *occiso Therone, virum qui maximus ultro/ Aenean petit*, Liv. 3.28.4 *Romani ... ultro ex stationibus et vigiliis territant hostem.*

**243 Campesus** a name of oriental origin according to Wijsman *ad* 5.593.

**impacta ... quercu** for *impingere* 'to strike' cf. Luc. 6.137 *roboris impacti crebros gemit agger ad ictus*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.28 *impingit Tyriis Danaa agmina muris.* For *quercu* used for a spear compare Stat. *Theb.* 12.730 ff. as quoted in 235 n. and Sil. 10.159 *quercuque premit violentus obusta* (*quercus* as a synonym of *sudis*); similarly *abies* (236 n.).

**latus inter et ilia** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.778 *Antoren latus inter et ilia figit.* Vergil may have based himself upon Homer (*Il.* 13.567 f. (βάλε δουρὶ/ αἰδοίων τε μεσηγὺ καὶ ὀμφαλοῦ). A similar *inter* figures also in *Aen.* 12.381 and 11.692 *loricam galeamque inter.* The latter is highly sig-

nificant in view of 225-227 (n.) as well as 239 (n.), both derived from the Camilla episode in *Aen.11*. Here we see how the basic inspiration may have come from the Camilla episode primarily followed, while the actual words come from elsewhere in Vergil (*A.* 10.778). For the wounds see 222 n.

**244 tollitur** 'is lifted'.

**descendit in hastam** cf. Luc. 1.31 f. *nulli penitus descendere ferro/ contigit* or, for the theme, VF 6.256 *impulit adverso ... equus Onchea conto*, as well as Ov. *Met.* 12.340 *suaque ilia induit fractae (sc. orno)*, Verg. *A.* 10.681 f. *an sese mucrone .../ induat.* The passage has much in common with the Oncheus scene 256-264, where in a similar way, only a few lines later, the victim is completely pierced by a spear.

*

245. Oebasus infestum summisso poplite Phalcen
246. evasisse ratus laevum per luminis orbem
247. transigitur; tenerae liquuntur vulnere malae.
248. contra autem geminis fidens thoracibus ictum
249. sustulit et gladio Sibotes ferit ultima teli
250. nequiquam. iam cuspis inest nec fragmina curat
251. Ambenus et trunco medium subit Otrea ligno.

**245 f.** 'Oebasus, thinking that by bending his knee he had evaded a thrust of Phalces, has his left eye transpierced;" Oebasus must be fighting on the Colchian side.

**245 ff.** Renkema wanted to transpose lines 260-264 (the bird-catching simile) to follow 245. This is certainly a possibility, yet there is no reason for emendation since they fit as well after 259 as well.

**245 Oebasus** the name could well be derived from Persian Οἰβάρης, the groom of Darius, Herodot. 3.85-88, 6.33, Aesch. *Pers.* 984.

**Phalcen** mentioned in 88; his death in 554.

**summisso poplite** also in Catul. 64.370; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.492 *poplite subsidens* (Aeneas).

**246 per luminis orbem** 'through the eye', cf. Luc. 6.216 *in caput atque oculi laevom descendit in orbem*; another weapon landing in the eye is

found in Stat. *Theb.* 9.749 f. *Eurytion cui luminis orbe sinistro/ callida ... acies se condidit.* Wounds in the eye in epic are first found in Hom. *Il.* 14.493 κατ' ὀφθαλμοῖο θέμεθλα, or 5.290 (next to the eye). For the eye-ball compare Lucr. 3.410 *totum ... luminis orbem*, 'the whole ball of the eye', Verg. *A.* 12.670 *oculorum orbis*, Ov. *Met.* 1.740 *luminis orbis*, 2.752 = 14.200 *luminis orbem.*

**247 tenerae C** *(vet.cod)*; *tenero* **V+L**. All recent editors have printed *tenerae* (**C**, ed. 1481).

**liquuntur vulnere malae C** *vet. cod.*, *tinguuntur* P.Wagner 1864:384, *linquuntur* **V+L**, *finduntur* Damsté. Thilo, Langen, Giarratano, Kramer, Mozley prefer the reading *liquuntur* (from *liqui*, 'to become liquid') to *tinguuntur* (Schenkl, Baerens, Bury, Courtney, Ehlers, from *tinguere* = *tingere*, 'to make wet, to stain with blood'). In the latter case *vulnere* indicates the instrument; in the former the circumstance, on which note Langen's remark *vulnere dicitur pro sanguine, ut* Verg. *A.* 11.669, Sil. 5.577. Carrio's expression seems a little more refined and in VF's style.

**248 contra autem** a new scene; cf. Wijsman *ad* 5.171.

**geminis fidens thoracibus** cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.319 ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν οἷσι πεποιθὼς, *Il.* 5.299 ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς = *Od.* 6.130.

**249 (ictum) sustulit** not from *tollere* but from *sufferre* ! Compare Stat. *Theb.* 8.657 f. *primos veluti modo comminus ictus/ sustulerint.* Cic. *N.D.* 3.82 *at Phalaris, at Apollodorus poenas sustulit* is slightly different in that they did not so much show endurance, as have to suffer the consequences of their misbehaviour.

**Sibotes** Heeren 17 suggested Sybotes as a Greek name. Sybotes is a well-known Greek word, but all editors print *Si-*. The Greek word could be used as a name, that is, in Roman fiction. If he is falling on a Sarmatian lance (see 251 n.), he was fighting on the Colchian side. If he was in the Greek army, but not an Argonaut, he may have been a subordinate, for which compare 251, 256 nn.

**ferit ultima teli** apparently Sibotes strikes at the back end of the Sarmatian lance aimed at him, and manages to break it; too late, the point is in him already, lethally.

**250 nequiquam** since Catullus found in all epic poets with a frequency of the same order as that of *frustra* (TLL 6.1.1429.60 ff.).

**cuspis** 'tip of a spear' as in Caes. *Civ.* 2.2.2 *asseres ... cuspidibus praefixi. inest* (*sc. ei*) as in Tib. 1.6.34 *clavis inest foribus.*

**nec fragmina curat** 'nor does he care that his lance is broken' (Mozley). Fighting with a spear that has lost its point is already found in Hom. *Il.* 16.114 ff. where, however, Ajax withdraws from the battle after Hector has shortened his spear. Even if VF has derived the motif from Homer he manages to give it an altogether different point. It may well be that VF increases the liveliness of his narration by leading up to a Homeric model and then not following it: the broken point reaches its goal, Ambenus continues fighting in contrast to Ajax in Homer (Vaalburg, unpublished).

**251 Ambenus** after *mons Ambenus* (85).

**medium subit Otrea** *Otrea* Carrio, *Ocrea* **V+L**: *Otreus* is a good Greek name (Hom. *Il.* 3.186, Hesychius (*s.v.*) for a king of Phrygia: Ὀτρεὺς καὶ Μύγδων· βασιλεῖς Φρυγίας), *Ocreus* is not. With the shaft Ambenus is still able to hit Otreus in the middle. For *subit* cf. Verg. *A.* 10.877 *infesta subit ebrius hasta*, Sil. 9.380 ff. *hic ... Caralim ... / ... / subit.* The person indicated can only be on the Colchian side, since Ambenus (85) was a mountain in Scythia, so Ambenus must belong to the Scythian army. Accordingly, Otreus can have belonged to the Greek retinue of the Argonauts.

*

252. seminecem Taxes Hypanin vehit atque remissum
253. pone trahit fugiens et cursibus exuit hastam
254. dumque recollectam rursus locat, inruit ultro
255. turbatumque Lacon et adhuc invadit inermem.

**252 seminecem** similarly in a battle scene in Verg. *A.* 10.462. The word is not over-frequent, but used by the various poets, Verg. *A.* 5.275, 9.455, 542, 12.329, Ov. *Met.* 1.228, *Tr.* 5.9.19, VF 3.153, 6.176, 509, Stat. *Theb.* 4.466, 4.660, 5.260, 7.764, 9.201, Sil. 4.164, 6.11, 10.455, *Epic. Drusi* 394.

**Taxes** Heeren refers to Herodot. 4.120 Τάξακις. He was on the Scythian side.

**Hypanin** cf. the river in 6.147. On rivers as the source of personal names see 192 n.

**remissum** 'letting him fall down'; cf. 3.334 *sonipes cervice remissum* ('drooping neck', Mozley), Tib. 1.3.87 f. *puella / ... somno fessa remittat opus*, Ov. *Met.* 4.229 *et colus et fusus digitis cecidere remissis.*

**253 pone** four times in VF: 3.70,3.443, 4.198, 5.413 as well as in Vergil; not in Ov. *Met.*, twice in Luc., 5 times in Stat. *Theb.*, 11 times in Silius.

**et cursibus exuit hastam** that is, 'while running'. For the poetic plural of *cursu*, 'at a run', I have found only one parallel not referring to horses:[15] Ov. *Met.* 10.638 *solitos poscunt cursus*, the occupation of the famous sprinter Atalanta (the *cursus* of Atalanta could, however, possibly refer to her 'contest', 'athletic games'). For *cursus* as 'running' cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.610 f. *tolerare diu cursus ego viribus impar/ non poteram*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.583 f. *nec multum segnior Idas/ cursibus.* Hence *calcibus* Heinsius is not necessary. For *exuit* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.287 *magnoque e vulnere telum/ exuit ipse gemens* (with Dewar).

**254 dumque ... rursus locat** Taxes recovers the lance from the dead body he is carrying along (for that purpose) in his flight; but lo, while he is trying to bring the recovered lance back into position, there comes the Spartan and is on him before he is ready. Interestingly, VF omits the moment of killing.

**inruit ultro** Burman: *ultro* stands for 'first'. The sense here is different from 242 (see n.).

**255 turbatumque** Verg. *A.* 8.222 f. *Cacum videre timentem/ turbatumque oculis*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.745 *prima Tanagraeum turbavit harundo Coroebum.*

**Lacon** the Laconian, that is, Castor.

*

256. impulit adverso praeceps equus Onchea conto
257. nequiquam totis revocantem viribus armos
258. in latus. accedit sonipes, accedit et ipse
259. frigidus. arma cadunt, rorat procul ultima cuspis.
260. qualem populeae fidentem nexibus umbrae
261. si quis avem summi deducat ab aere rami
262. ante manu tacita cui plurima crevit harundo;
263. illa dolis viscoque super correpta sequaci
264. implorat ramos atque inrita concitat alas.

---

[15] as is the case in, *e.g.*, Verg. *G.* 3.193.

B.2.c. *256 -264. The Oncheus scene; the lime-twig simile.*
The passage about Oncheus concludes the ἀριστεία of Castor. Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.718-722 comments on the general phenomenon of giving particular attention, often an epitaph, to the last victim of a series.

The Oncheus scene may contain elements of passage Verg. *A.* 11.741-750, where Tarchon lifts Venulus from the saddle, carries him along on his horse, and finally kills him. Smolenaars[16] analysed the Oncheus scene and considered it the model for Stat. *Theb.* 7.632-639 (Pterelas, 'as a Centaur') and Sil. 7.667-679 (Hampsicus, 'as the fowler takes a bird ...'). By and large I follow his interpretation. In addition I think that there has been influence of Hom. *Il.* 16.406 ff. where Thestor is impaled through his jaws on the spear of Patroclus and lifted out of his chariot, and is compared to a fish drawn in by an angler.

**256 praeceps** 'headlong, impetuous, blindly'; cf. Verg. *G.* 4.457 *dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps.*

**adverso ... conto** cf. 270 *adversas hastas* with n., Sil. 4.207 *adversum ensem. conto* can be considered dative. To the naive reader it may seem that it is Castor handling the pike; however, in the foregoing these were the weapons of the Sarmatians. So apparently the person meeting his death here is a Colchian carried by his horse against the wall of pikes. Smolenaars 1996:156 compares *impulit equus Onchea (revocantem armos in latus) conto* with Verg. *A.* 1.81 f. *cuspide montem/ impulit in latus,* where the words are similar, but Smolenaars notes several differences: the dative *conto* instead of the ablative *cuspide*, *in latus* not dependent of *impellere.*

**Oncheus** the name according to Heeren 14 derived from the Boeotian town of Ὄγχηστος, mentioned by ARh 3.1242; he is on the Colchian/Greek side, although not known as an Argonaut. Carrio's *vet. cod.* had Ochea, but Ocheus was killed already in 200.

**257 nequiquam** already used again after 250, possibly to brand the war as useless. In 264 the movements of a bird trying to escape from the fowler are called *inrita.*

---

[16] Smolenaars, J.J.L., 'On went the steed, on went the rider, An intertextual analysis of Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 6.256-264, Statius *Thebais* 7.632-639 and Silius *Punica* 7.667-679', in R.Risselada, J.de Jong, A.M.Bolkestein, *On Latin: linguistic and literary studies in honour of Harm Pinkster*, Amsterdam, Gieben, 1996, 151-161.

**revocantem ... armos** pulling the shoulders back, that is, from where they were heading, which means going sidewards.

**258 in latus** cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.187 *in latus obliquum tamen adstitit* (where *in latus* and *obliquum* are practically synonymous), Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.2 f. *qua nobilis Appia crescit/ in latus.*

**accedit ... accedit** Ehlers wonders whether repeated *accedit* is sound, but the word *et*, 'and also' seems to me to point to a repetition. Smolenaars 1996:155 thinks that effectively the repetition of *vadit* in 236/237 recurs, and is describing the tactics of the Sarmatians.

**259 frigidus** if not dead, then nearly so; cf. *repressa gelu* in 278 below, Verg. *A.* 9.414 f. *ille vomens calidum de pectore flumen/ frigidus*, 11.818 f. *frigida leto/ lumina.*

**rorat procul ultima cuspis** blood is scattered in a wide circle around the spear-point.

**260 qualem populeae ... umbrae** cf. Verg. *G.* 4.511 f. *qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra/ amissos queritur fetus.*

**fidentem nexibus umbrae** to hide, as in Sil. 15.489 *saxosae fidens silvae. fidere* can be construed with ablative or with dative; see, *e.g.*, Verg. *G.* 3.31 *fidentemque fuga Parthum*, *A.* 9.378 *fidere nocti. nexibus umbrae* = 'intertwined branches of wood'; for *umbra* cf. Catul. 64.41, Verg. *G.* 1.156, VF 7.55 *caesa ... umbra*, Sil. 4.679, 12.354 *frondentibus ... umbris*, 14.302, Stat. *Theb.* 4.797.

**261 ff.** An *auceps* is found in Prop. 4.2.33 f., Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.458, Ov. *Met.* 11.73, 15.474 *nec volucrem viscata fallite virga!* (Pythagoras speaking), Petr. 40 *parati aucupes cum harundinibus*, 109 *volucres quas textis harundinibus peritus artifex tetigit; illae viscatis illigatae viminibus deferebantur ad manus*, Sil. 7.674 ff. *ut qui viscata populatur harundine lucos, etc.* (according to Spaltenstein *ad loc.* Silius is here following VF), Mart. 9.54.3 and 14.218 quoted below.

**deducat** Compare the scene in Verg. *G.* 4.511 ff., where the merciless farmer *fetus nido implumis detraxit*; the mother fills the whole place with her wailing notes sitting *populea maerens ... sub umbra.* I suppose, with Smolenaars *l.c.*, that *detraxit* was the model for *deducat*, while *G.* 4.511 *qualis populea ... sub umbra* corresponds to 260 *qualem populeae ...umbrae*, 4.513 *at illa* to *illa* 263, 4.514 *flet noctem ramoque sedens* to 264 *implorat ramos. deducere* is used for 'bringing down' in *Octav.* 797 f. *membra per partes trahunt/ deducta laqueis* (about statues torn down),

**summi ... ab aere rami** *ab arbore* **C** (*vet. cod.*) looks like a gloss (what would an *arbor rami* be?); *aere* , 'the highest branches', may find support in Verg. *G.* 2.123 f. *ubi aera vincere summum/ arboris.*

**262 ante** 'first' (understand: first the fowler extends his reed, then he catches the bird).

**manu tacita** *tacitus* is frequent in VF (28 times, 24 in the first four books) against 21 in the *Aeneid*, 40 in the *Thebaid*, both much longer). The reason may well be what Smolenaars 185 concludes: 'Statius likes to use *tacitus* for its personifying force', as well as the refinement of enallage.

**crevit harundo** cf. Sil. 7.674 about an *auceps*: *qui viscata populatur harundine lucos.* The rod, with the fatal glue at the end, 'grows' because it can be made longer like a telescope; cf. Mart. 9.54.3 f. *aut crescente levis traheretur harundine praeda,/ pinguis et implicitas virga teneret avis*, 14.218 *non tantum calamis sed cantu fallitur ales,/ callida dum tacita crescit harundo manu.* For *plurima* see 223 n.

**263 dolis viscoque** the combination of abstract and concrete points to a hendiadys; *visco* refers to bird-lime made of the berries of mistletoe, *Viscum album* L. (on which see Steier, RE 15.2069.43 ff. *s.v. Mistel*).

**super** because a hypothetical *super* as the counterpart to *ante* is not attested, *super* can only refer to *ramos*; *ramos* goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *super* and with *implorat.*

**sequaci** *tenaci* Frieseman (with one *-n*) is unnecessary.

**264 implorat** does the bird implore the branches to come and help her (the interpretation of TLL *s.v.*)? The bird seems to throw a longing glance on the high and free branches, looking upwards as if invoking assistance of the gods. Because an impersonal object is so rare with *implorare* (TLL 7.1.645.59 ff.), this might also be an instance of *implorare* for *plorare*, because then it would follow the model Verg. *G.* 4.513 ff. *at illa/ flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen/ integrat.* Literally *implorat* might be rendered as 'letting her tears fall on the branches'. — *inrita* with adverbial force, as often (OLD3c), as in 304, Verg. *A.* 5.442 *inritus urget*, Plin. *Nat.* 8.66 *inrita feritas saevit in litore*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.504 ff. *inritus ... rogavit/ Oedipodes.*

**concitat** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.476 *Allecto ... se concitat alis.*

*

265. parte alia infestis (nam fors ita iunxit) in armis
266. Styrus adest laetusque virum cognoscit Anausis
267. et prior 'en cuius thalamis Aeetia virgo
268. dicta manet nostrosque feret qui victor amores.
269. non' ait, 'invitoque gener mutabere patri'.

B.3. *265-278 Styrus and Anausis.*

This passage of 14 lines is an interlude between the two bigger scenes about Castor and about Gesander. In Homer two competitors for Helen's love had already met (*Il.* 3.21-29). Vaalburg (unpublished) sees *infestis in armis* as shortened form of the lengthier description of Paris found in *Il.* 3.15-20; in the same way 266 *laetusque virum cognoscit* summarizes lines *Il.* 3.27 f. ὣς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα/ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδών; possibly Styrus' behaviour in 271-273 recalls Paris fleeing in *Il.* 3.30-37. However, although VF may have had the scene in mind, he has not given an equivalent to its main component, the simile of the lion seeing its prey.

Styrus is called *gener*, as in 5.459 (with Wijsman); cf. 172 n.

**265 parte alia** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.474 *parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis*, and further in *A.* 8.433, 682, 9.521, 12.346.

**infestis ... in armis** *in armis* ed. 1498, *inani* **V+L**; cf. Verg. *A.* 5.582 *infestaque tela*, 10.877 *infesta ... hasta.*

**nam fors ita iunxit** (*forsitan* **V+L**; *fors ita* **C** *vet. cod.*, ed. 1498). Cf. VF 3.392 *si fors saeva tulit miseros*, Liv. 5.11.1 *fors ita tulit ut eo anno ...*, and for *iungere* of opponents meeting Liv. 22.51.6 *iacebant ... milia ... ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga.*

**266 Styrus** suitor for Medea's hand; see Wijsman *ad* VF 5.459. Styrus, supporting his would-be father-in-law, is in the situation of Othryoneus in Hom. *Il.* 13.363 ff. who had asked for the hand of Cassandra and accordingly supports her father in the war. The present pair of suitors is reminiscent of Turnus and Aeneas competing for the hand of Lavinia in the *Aeneid.* Styrus is wounded (272) but is still alive in 8.299 ff. where he finds his end in the waves. With *Styrus adest* compare Verg. *A.* 7.577 *Turnus adest.*

**laetus** see above, 265-278 n.

**Anausis** (Dureau). **V+L** read *Anausim*, and Carrio prints

*Anausin.* However, that Anausis should speak lines 267-269 makes sense. For Anausis cf. 6.43.

**267 et prior** cf. *ac prior* 458, 675; *prior*, 'the first of two', occurs 18 times in Vergil, 27 times in the shorter VF.

**cuius thalamis** Medea *adnuitur thalamis Albani ... tyranni* in 5.258.

**Aeetia virgo** *Aeetius* is a Valerian novelty, also in 6.542 (*proles*), 6.691 (*foedera*), 7.565 (*tellus*), 8.379 (*heros*).

**268 dicta** 'promised' (as in Non. 280M,27); cf. Nep. *Eumen.* 2.2 *hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia sive potius dicta; nam tum in hostium erat potestate*, Pacuv. *trag.* R167=W184 *prius data est quam tibi dari dicta aut quam reditum est Pergamo.*

**feret** for *auferet.* TLL 6.1.554.44 ff. adduces Verg. *A.* 2.374 f. *rapiunt incensa feruntque / Pergama*, Tac. *Hist.* 5.19.1 *raptis quae ferri poterant.*

**269** 'No', he said, 'you will make room for <another> son-in-law, even though the father refuses'. Shelton 348 notes the biting irony, because it is quite true that Aeetes will see a change of sons-in-law: Jason will supplant Styrus.

**non** Carrio found in the *vet. cod.* the reading *en, ait* for *'non' ait* **V+L** (sc. *item*) = 'far otherwise'. *non* cannot be taken with *invito* ('on the express wish of the father'!); compare Verg. *A.* 9.208 *nec fas, non; ita me referat tibi ...* (in Vergil there cannot be any ambiguity because *ita me* + subjunctive is formulaic (OLD *s.v. ita* 17) and because negation of *referat* would call for *ne*). *en* ('you see', frequent in VF) is the *lectio facilior*, in addition in the present passage *en* would then occur three times in close proximity, in 267, 269, 274.

*

tum simul adversas conlatis cursibus hastas
coniciunt, fugit adductis Albanus habenis
saucius atque datum leto non sperat Anausin
nec videt. ille autem telo moribundus adacto
'ad soceros pactaeque sinus en coniugis,' inquit
'Styre, fugis vulnus referens, quod carmine nullo
sustineat nullisque levet Medea venenis.'
dixerat, extremus cum lumina corripit error
voxque repressa gelu percussaque vertice tellus.

**270** 'they rush forward together and hurl spears aimed at one another'.

**adversas ... hastas** cf. 6.256 *adverso ... conto*, Verg. *A.* 10.578 *adversa ... hasta*, 11.612 f. *adversis ... hastis.*

**conlatis cursibus** cf. *conferre pedem, conferre gradum* 'fight at close quarters', with overtones of *conferre aciem*, 'to join battle'. Compare Liv. 6.12.10 *conlato pede*, 10.29.6, 26.39.12, Sil. 12.382 *conferre gradum.*

**271 coniciunt** starting the hexameter in Verg. *A.* 5.662, 6.222, 10.330, 11.194, with the first *-i* performing a double function, as a vowel and as a semi-vowel making position. *conicere hastam, telum, cuspidem, iaculum* occurs frequently; cf. Verg. *A.* 10.645 f. *hastam conicit*, 10.891 *conicit hastam.*

**adductis ... habenis** cf., with a different construction 133 *laqueis adducere*, and further Verg. *A.* 9.587 *adducta ... habena*, 12.622 *adductis ... habenis*, Luc. 3.700 *adductum ... funem*, 4.454 *adducto fune*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.424 f. *adductis... loris*, Sil. 13.834 *adductis frenis.*

**Albanus** Styrus came from Albania (459, = Azerbeidjan).

**272 saucius** opening the line five times in the *Aeneid*, twice in Ov. *Met.*, only here in VF, twice in the *Thebaid*, thrice in Silius.

**atque** 'but', as in 4.154 *atque ... ne temnite.*

**datum leto** (sc. *esse*); cf. Enn. *scaen.* V334 f. =J283 f. = R289 f. *liberi leto dati/ sunt* + Jocelyn *ad loc.*), taken up by Plautus, Pacuvius, Vergil, Ovid *et al.*: Verg. *A.* 5.806 *milia multa daret leto*, 12.328 *dat fortia corpora leto*, Lucr. 5.1000 *virum ... milia .../ una dies dabat exitio* (= Lucr. 5.95) (TLL 5.1.1695.26 ff.), VF 6.557 *dat Calais Barisanta neci.*

**non sperat** 'does not expect"; cf. 3.294 f. *extinguine mea .../ speravi te posse manu?*

**273 telo ... adacto** cf 6.183 *galeis ... adactis*, 6.307 f. *adacto/ ense*, Ov. *Met.* 12.324 *(fraxinus)*, 12.452 *(vectis)*, 6.271=15.562 *(ferrum)*, Luc. 4.288 *(ensis)*, 4.560 f. *(gladium)*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.927 *(fulmen)*, Sil. 16.542 f. *(mucro)*, 17.482 *(ensis).*

**moribundus** the theme of a dying man's curse also in Verg. *A.* 10.740 (Orodes (*exspirans*) to Mezentius), based upon Hom. *Il.* 16.843 ff. (Patroclus to Hector), 22.355 (Hector to Achilles); Ov. *Met.* 8.773 *vaticinor moriens.*

**274 ad ... sinus ... (fugis)** cf. Catul. 44.14 *in tuum sinum fugi.*

**soceros** his (prospective) parents-in-law; cf. Verg. *A.* 2.456 f. *(se) Andromache ferre ... solebat/ ad soceros*, Ov. *Met.* 3.132 *soceri tibi Marsque Venusque.*

**pactaeque ... coniugis** for *pacta* see 6.44 n.

**275 vulnus referens** cf. *saucius* in 272.

**carmine ... (... venenis)** cf. Hor. *S.* 1.8.19 f. *quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis/ humanos animos*, Ov. *Rem.* 290 *deme veneficiis carminibusque fidem*, Juv. 6.133, Tac. *Ann.* 4.22.3. The second reference in the book (after 157) to Medea's witchcraft, as such a prelude to its rôle in Book 7.

**276** Langen points out the failure of Anausis' hopes; in the eighth book (298 ff.) Styrus is apparently in fine condition and waging a marine battle against the Argonauts; but finally he is drowned.

**277 dixerat** opening the hexameter in 27 instances in VF, roughly twice as frequent as in the *Aeneid* (25 times). However, *dixerat , cum ...* is most unusual. As (weak) parallels I can only find Ov. *Met.* 8.142 *vix dixerat, insilit undis*, none in Vergil, Statius or Silius; Ov. *Met.* 15.437 is different. In fact what VF should have written seems to be *vix dixerat, cum iam lumina corripit error.*

**corripit** a terrible whirl announces the eyes' last moments. Cf. 283 f. *vos ... senectus/ corripuit*, Sen. *Phaed.* 665 *domus sorores una corripuit duas*, Sil. 13.79 f. *haec* (=Minerva) *ausos Celtas irrumpere moenia Romae/ corripuit leto.*

**error** unsteady movements; cf. Lucr. 2.132, Stat. *Theb.* 12.777 f. *ille oculis extremo errore solutis/ labitur*, Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.170, or *errare* as used in Verg. *A.* 4.691 *oculisque errantibus.*

**278 voxque repressa** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.378 *pedem cum voce repressit*, Apul. *Met.* 3.4.

**repressa gelu** One's *mors* is *gelidus* (Ov. *Met.* 15.153, 8.496) or *frigidus* (259); cf. Verg. *A.* 11.828, Stat. *Theb.* 9.403. More in TLL 6.2.1729.53 ff., 6.1.1326.26 ff.

**percussaque ... tellus** cf. Verg. *G.* 1.13 *tellus percussa tridenti*, Sil. 4.294 *et percussa gemit tellus ingentibus armis*, or with *terra* in TLL 10.1.1242.60 ff.

**vertice** 'with the head', cf. Verg. *A.* 4.247 *caelum qui vertice fulcit*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.607 *pendebat vertice crinis.*

*

279. hinc animos acies auget magnoque doloris
280. turbine Gesandrum Mavors rapit. ille morantes
281. increpat et stricto sic urget Iazygas ense:
282. 'nempe omnes cecidere senes, nempe omnis ademptus
283. ante pater. quae vos subito tam foeda senectus
284. corripuit fregitque animos atque abstulit iras?
285. aut mecum mediam, iuvenes, agite ite per urbem
286. Argolicamque manum aut caris occumbite natis'.

B.4. *279-385: the Gesander episode.*

If only to balance the *aristeiae* of Castor and of Jason (542-689) at least one of the Scythian heroes must get a chance to distinguish himself... finally to fall at the hands of a woman, *heu pudor!* Gesander is modelled upon Mezentius, the Etruscan king figuring in Books 7-10 of the *Aeneid* (Wijsman 2000); see 293 n. for the brutal way in which Gesander slaughters Aquites who is desperately looking for his son. In contrast to the cruel sides of Mezentius and Gesander is their loyalty towards son (Mezentius) and father (Gesander), and *vice versa.* A number of references to Verg. *A.* 10.689-906 can be identified. Of these only a few are significant at first sight, the majority concern fairly ordinary words of which the allusive force is only revealed by their cumulative effect. Compare for the whole passage Wijsman 2000.

B.4.a. *279-293.*

In this passage of 14 lines Gesander addresses his Iazygians, and refers to their customs with the elderly (already mentioned in 123-128). He prays to his father's shade. There is a clear affection for his father. This good father-son relationship he has in common with Mezentius, whose son Lausus is killed when he tries to defend his father and next to whom the father wishes to be buried. The speech has some traits of Verg. *A.* 11.732 ff. where Tarchon reproaches his Etrurians for their cowardice after Camilla has routed them (*o semper inertes Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit? femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit!*), the more ironic because it finally turns out that a *woman* will cause Gesander's death.

**279 animos acies auget** cf. several examples of *animum augere* in TLL 2.1350.13 ff. + 2.102.52 ff.: Ov. *Fast.* 3.65, Stat. *Theb.* 10.23, Sil. 15.497. For *acies* = 'battle' compare Liv. 4.30.14 *cum Veientibus nuper acie*

*dimicatum ad Nomentum et Fidenas fuerat*, Verg. *A.* 6.829 *quantas acies stragemque ciebunt*, Ov. *Met.* 7.142 *civilique cadunt acie*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.1 *fraternas acies*, Tac. *Hist.* 2.13.1 *in acie nihil praedae*, *Ann.* 12.32.1 *non ausis aciem hostibus.*

**magnoque doloris (turbine)** from **C** *vet. cod.*; *magnosque dolores* **V+L**. *turbo* used of mental turmoil, as in Ov. *Am.* 2.9.28 *nescio quo miserae turbine mentis agor.* Below in 293 Gesander is described as *turbidus.* The cause of his grief is not evident. Probably it is the very thought of his father whom he has (recently) killed, and this may make him all the more keen to show the world that his people only consists of *iuvenes.* The ablative may be separative, Mars is rousing him 'from' his grief.

**280 Gesandrum** apparently king of the Iazyges. Heeren 21 quotes Köstlin (*Philol.* 39:438) who supposed that the name is derived from *gaesum*, 'javelin', and means "Speeremann". He dies in line 383.

**281 (morantes) increpat** cf. 3.613 f. *cunctantes increpat ausus/ Tiphys*, Verg. *A.* 12.758 *Rutulos increpat.* This line is based upon Verg. *A.* 10.830 f. *increpat ultro/ cunctantis socios* and *A.* 10.715 *stricto concurrere ferro*, both from the Mezentius story.

**stricto sic ... ense** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.175 *tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur:* ... See also former note.

**Iazygas** see 6.122, where they have been called *expertes canentis aevi*, with reference to their custom of preferring death by the hand of their dear sons to slow eld (*foeda senectus*, 283).

**282 nempe ... nempe** a word lending itself excellently to sarcasm; 'I thought all our greybeards had fallen or had been killed by their sons, and look now! — Stop behaving like one!!'.

**senes** see 123 ff.

**283 (omnis ademptus) pater** including his own father. The whole Gesander passage is about fathers and sons.

**foeda senectus** also in *turpi senecta* (308, in the same connexion) an adjective is applied that does not normally go with *senectus/a*, as do *effeta, misera, tristis, tarda, etc.*

**284 fregitque animos** cf. from TLL 6.1.1246.19 ff., *e.g.*, Cic. *Off.* 3.114 *qua quidem re audita fractum animum Hannibalis*, or Liv. 38.26.6 *animos et victoribus ab re secunda auctos et hostibus fractos* (the expression is the

counterpart of *augere animos* in 279 or *dare animos, e.g.,* Ov. *Met.* 5.47).

**abstulit iras** according to TLL 2.1335.81 there is no other example of the combination or a similar expression.

**mecum ... iuvenes** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.51 (Turnus speaking) *ecquis erit mecum, iuvenes, qui primus in hostem?,* but particularly because of the combination with *occumbite* in the next line there is a resemblance to the lines of the Mezentius passage where the king addresses his horse Rhaebus: Verg. *A.* 10.864 *ultor eris mecum, aut, aperit si nulla uiam uis,/ occumbes pariter.* It is true that Gesander's tone is one of contempt, that of the model one of sympathy.

**285 agite ite** words previously used (see 29 n.) by Mars!

**urbem** according to Strand 64 f. the *soldiers* of the city are meant; compare *regna* in 5.607 (*urbem* and *manus* both depend on *per*). With *mediam ...per urbem et ... manum* compare also Verg. *A.* 7.384 *per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.*

**286 (per .../) Argolicamque manum** *Argolicus* also in 1.96, 5.2, 6.334, 6.676, the typical word to indicate the Greek adversaries of the Trojans: Verg. *A.* 8.374 *Argolici vastabant Pergama reges,* Ov. *Ep.* 1.25 *Argolici rediere duces.* In these scenes the Trojan war is always on the background.

**caris occumbite natis** Langen points to *occumbere* with dative, quoting Luc. 9.129, Sil. 5.261; for an example with an abstraction cf. Verg. *A.* 2.62 *occumbere morti.* The ablative is an alternative, but rather describes the *way how*: Luc. 4.165 *nec liceat pavidis ignava occumbere morte.* The phrase repeats the substance of 126 *dextra sed carae occumbere prolis.*

*

287. inruit et patrias coeptis ferus advocat umbras:
288. 'sancte mihi Vorapte pater, tua pectora nato
289. suggere nunc animamque parem, si fata peroso
290. tarda tibi turpesque moras non segnius ipsi
291. paruimus parvique eadem didicere nepotes'.
292. haec ait auditusque Erebo. tunc corripit ensem
293. turbidus et furiis ardens quatit arma paternis.

**287 inruit et** as in Verg. *A.* 9.555 (about Helenor), following the line containing *iuvenis moriturus* (compare *auditusque Erebo* in 292). Gesander will meet his death in 383: *tunc ruit.* The primary allusion will be to Verg. *A.* 10.729 *sic ruit in densos alacer Mezentius hostis* (see further 293 nn.)

**patrias ... umbras** the expression also found in Stat. *Theb.* 10.603, where, however, Oedipus is not yet dead.

**coeptis** dative complement with *advocat.*

**ferus** his grief turns into aggression, as Aquites will discover (303, see n.).

**288 ff** Interestingly, lines 288-290 have 'weak' caesura, which is relatively infrequent (often with -que, as in lines 242, 263, 266, 268, 269, 274, 276; in lines 242-287 only 250 and 282 have weak caesura without *-que*). This may have stylistic significance: the beginning of the prayer is in a different key from the rest of story and book. Weak caesura occurs in 130/760 lines = 17 % (in 53 out of 130 lines *-que* is responsible =40%).

**288 sancte** qualifying his father when alive as well as his father's shade; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.473 *sacra deum sanctique patres*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.538 f. *oculique verentes/ ad sanctum rediere patrem*, Verg. *A.* 11.158 f. *tuque o sanctissima coniunx,/ felix morte tua*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.709 *sanctas ... Menoeceos umbras.*

**Vorapte pater** the father whose life he, Gesander, has apparently already ended with his own hand. Is the Voraptus possibly an eastern river, although unknown to us? Pape's lexicon has a lemma Οὐορόχθα, an island in the Persian gulf; a similar Persian name may have been known at the time.

**289 ff** '(Venerable father), give your spirit to your son and a life matching yours, as true as it is that we have not been slow to obey you (who hated a death too late as well as shameful delays) while your small grandsons have <already> learned the same'.

**289 (pectora .../) suggere** cf. Hor. *S.* 2.2.136 *fortia ... adversis opponite pectora.*

**animamque parem** either *anima* can be allowed the general meaning of 'life', if he wishes to have a life similar to his father's; or *anima* can be interpreted as 'spirit' (OLD8), which is occasionally found (Ov. *Met.* 12.69 *fortis animae nece cognitus Hector <est>*. The more normal word for 'courage' is *animus*, so that possibly a conjecture must be ventured, reading '*animumque*', if he longs for his father's courage. For *animus* in that sense cf. lines 279, 284 above, or Verg. *A.* 9.717 f. *hic Mars armipotens animum virisque Latinis/ addidit*, Luc. 7.677 ff. *Magnum ... ingen-*

*tesque animos extrema in fata ferentem*, Liv. 8.1.5 *Volscis ... haudquaquam idem animus ad iterandum periculum fuit.*

**fata peroso (tarda) tibi** 'passing away after the proper time, <a thing> hated by you'.

**290 turpesque moras** cf. 127 *rumpuntque moras. turpes* is taken up in 308 *turpi ... senecta.*

**non segnius** the words very Vergilian (cf. *A.* 12.525, *G.* 2.275, *A.* 7.383, 4.149 (*haud*); 10.308, 657, 8.414 (*nec*); as well as 107.

**291 parvique ... nepotes** 'our grandsons when still young'; cf. Verg. *A.* 2.677 *parvus Iulus*; CIL 6.26623 *Sophron hic situs est aetatis parvae* (from a marble gravestone in Campania).

**eadem** Baehrens, *eam* **V+L**, *parvique viam* **C**; Carrio printed *etiam*; the corruptions *etiam to viam*, *eadem to eam* are perhaps equally likely, but *etiam* would leave *didicere* without an object. Thilo and Schenkl were the last editors to print *viam*, which gives less good sense than *eadem*.

**292 haec ait** *haec ait et* opening the line five times in Vergil.

**auditusque Erebo** Verg. *G.* 4.493 *stagnis auditus Avernis.*

**tunc corripit** according to Liberman 268 we should print here *tum corripit.* He relies upon the frequency of *tum c-* as well as the authority of Housman (*ad* Luc. 1.490). I think, however, that the case for changing to *tum corripit* here, *tum quoque* in 564, or *tum vero* in 613 is not yet proven.

**corripit ensem** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.335, 12.93 *corripit hastam.*

**293** The line 293 may be considered to contain a *Leitzitat* emphasizing that Gesander is modelled upon Mezentius. The epithet *turbidus* is used by Vergil in its literal sense of water, rain, and dirt; a few times in its psychological sense of persons. In this case the derivation of *turbidus* from Mezentius is established by its combination with *quatit arma*, and vice versa; *ardens* (see below) gives some further support. — The same passage of the *Aeneid* is also followed by Stat. *Theb.* 7.669 ff. (see 322 n.). There *turbidus* also occurs as the *Leitzitat* and its identification is supported by the addition of the word *speculatur*, corresponding to *speculatus* in Verg. *A.* 10.769. This was also noticed by Smolenaars *ad loc.*

**turbidus** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.762 ff., on Mezentius *contemptor divum*, an excellent model for Gesander: *at vero ingentem quatiens Mezentius hastam /*

*turbidus ingreditur campo.* A comparison between Mezentius, an utter rogue in almost every respect but a loving father with an even better son, and Gesander who invokes his own parent but brutally slaughters a priest seeing to save his son, is poignant. See further the preceding note and the following notes and notice that the priest is looking for his son, *lustrans agmina* (300), to be compared to *Aeneas speculatus in agmine longo* (*A.* 10.769). Lausus is honoured with the words *A.* 10.824 *pietatis imago*, to be compared to the taunting words of Gesander (311) *tibi si pietas nati.*

Harrison thinks *turbidus* (from *turbo)* is based upon Hom. *Il.* 11.297 where Hector approaches ἶσος ἀέλλῃ; in its use by VF mental agitation may prevail.

**ardens** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.689 f. *Mezentius ardens/ succedit pugnae.* The word is in fairly frequent use in the *Aeneid*, but the identification of the allusion can be inferred from the context (see previous note).

**quatit arma** cf. 2.269 *quatit hastam* (for the *thyrsus*) after Verg. *A.* 11.767. In the present context, however, both words corroborate the allusion of *turbidus* to Mezentius (see previous notes).

*

294 indigenis sacratus aquis magnique sacerdos
295. Phasidis Arctois Aquites errabat in armis
296. (populeus cui frondis honor conspectaque glauco
297. tempora nectuntur ramo) te, Cyrne, parentis
298. immemorem durae cupiens abducere pugnae.

B.4.b. *294 -316. Aquites subscene.*
Aquites is a father looking for his son to save him. He meets with the fierce Gesander who has just before (288-291) prayed to his own father, whom he has killed because of his age. Gesander has no compassion whatsoever with another father not-yet-killed. The appeal 'think of your own father' is a hallowed motif since Hom. *Il.* 24.486 ff. (Priam and Achilles); cf. *Il.* 22.338, Verg. *A.* 12.932. It is standard practice in epic that the heroes know about each other's status and parentage; here it is tragic irony that Aquites addresses no other than Gesander with this appeal. Lines 313 f. allude to Priam's words in *Il.* 22.71 ff. from a similar context. Vaalburg (unpublished) thinks that Aquites, having spoken 'in Homeric vein', is answered in the same coinage by Gesander's sneer (see 313 f. n. below).

**294 indigenis** attributively, 'native', as in Sil. 3.104 *Milichus indigenis late regnabat in oris*, as a synonym of *patrius* unusual and late; also in

VF 6.93 *duces*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.383 f. *hostis/ indigena* (with Smolenaars); classical is Verg. *A.* 8.314 *haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant*, inspiring Ov. *Met.* 6.330 *indigenaene dei.*

**sacratus** cf. Sen. *Oed.* 291 f. *sacrate divis ... responsa solve* (Oedipus to Tiresias).

**magni** 'big' is an obvious epithet for a river (just think of winter time!); but in addition *magnus* is often applied to a god, on which see Antolín 280 f.

**295 Arctois ... in armis** cf. 330 *Arctois ... in arvis*; meant are the Scythian ranks; see 617 n. for *arma* as 'troops' and 330 for *Arctois in arvis* as the Scythian plains. The (Colchian) priest is allowed *impune* (299) to cross the lines.

**Aquites** according to Heeren 20 the name can be derived from the *Aquitani* although there the *-i* is short. As other examples of metrical changes in names he cites the name Styrus with short *-y* derived from the town Styra with long *-y* and *Odrussae* from *Odrysi* with short *-y*. It is not clear what the Aquitani have to do with the Phasis.

**errabat** with a nuance of 'not sure of his way among warriors'.

**296 populeus** associated with rivers; see Wijsman *ad* VF 5.185.

**frondis honor** cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.565 *tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores* (Apollo to Daphne). This priest has something in common with *Umbro* in Verg. *A.* 7.750 ff., *sacerdos / fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliva*, who is not priest of a river, however, though he bears the name of one.

**conspectaque (tempora)** 'conspicuous', not common (TLL 4.497.20 ff.): cf. Verg. *G.* 3.17 *Tyrio conspectus in ostro*, Liv. 27.27.3. The priest tries to be as conspicuous as a white car with a red cross in a modern war.

**glauco (ramo)** possibly two notions play a rôle. In OLD the first meaning is *'blue-grey:* ***a*** *(the colour of the sea, rivers, etc., and, poet., things connected with them')*, which could apply here; Verg. *G.* 4.451 *(Proteus) lumina glauco*, *A.* 8.33 *(Tiberinus) glauco ... amictu*, 10.205 *patre Benaco velatus harundine glauca*, 12.885 *(Iuturna) glauco amictu ... et se fluvio dea concidit alto*, Stat. *Theb.* 9. 351 *glaucarum ... sororum*, Sil. 4.659 *glauca fronde revinctum* (the river-god Trebia). *glaucus* is also the colour of olive leaves (Stat. *Theb.* 2.99; see below, VF 3.436 *glaucas ... frondes*, apparently alluding to peace) and may be used, by extension, of the poplar's leaves as well. See also 50 n. *(viridis)*, 302 *(caeruleus)*. — Alternatively, the poplar branches

are mixed with olive, because olive combines well with fillets and the venerability of a priest; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.96 ff., where Laius performs the rite in the guise of Tiresias: *glaucaeque innexus olivae vittarum provenit honos.*

**297 Cyrne** Cyrnus must be the priest's son in view of *parentis.* The name is, once again (192 n.) derived from a river; *Cyrnus* (Plut. *Pomp.* 34, 35, Dio Cass. 36.53, 54) is a synonym of the Cyrus (=Coros Strabo 11.3.2=C500).

**298 durae ... pugnae** cf. 3.710 *duras ... pugnas,* 6.545 *duri ... belli,* Verg. *A.* 11.48 *dura proelia,* or with *bellum* 10.146, Hor. *Carm.* 3.20.3 f. and Liv. 40.16.8 *dura ... proelia,* Ov. *Met.* 13.296, *Pont.* 1.8.6 *dura pharetrato bella movente Geta,* Luc. 5.265.

**abducere pugnae** the verb to be construed with a dative according to Diom. *gramm* I, Keil 313.3 *abduco tibi illum,* Pl. *Merc.* 994 *numquam facerem ut illam amanti abducerem,* Sen. mai. *Contr.* 1 *pr.* 14 *at cum .. se blandienti odio abduxerat,* Petron. 114 *scaphaeque impositam ... abduxere certissimae morti,* Claud. 15 (*Bell. Gild.*).144 *si mihi Gildonem nequeunt abducere fata.* Many plural cases such as Verg. *Aen.* 10.79 may have been interpreted as ablatives. — The father of Halaesus in Verg. *A.* 10.417 had the same idea: *fata canens silvis genitor celarat Halaesum* — in vain, as here.

*

299. iamque omnes impune globos diversaque lustrans
300. agmina quem quaerit nusquam videt atque iterum intrat
301. vociferans, iterum belli diversa peragrat.
302. lancea caeruleas circumstrepit incita vittas.
303. opprimit admissis ferus hunc Gesander habenis.

**299 impune** protected by the sanctity of his position: 'under a safe-conduct', as in Curt. 4.1.14 *dabimus fidem impune venturum te esse* (Alexander to Darius).

**globos** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.373 *globus ille virum.*

**diversaque lustrans (agmina)** Aquites is looking for his son Cyrnus; cf. *A.* 10.769 *Aeneas speculatus in agmine longo* (looking for Mezentius). As a priest he is allowed to look in 'both camps' — has the son possibly been taken as a prisoner of war?

**300** The line as found in **V+L** *agmina non usquam videt atque iterum intrat* is a few syllables too short; Loehbach 1872:11 proposed to insert *natum*

after *usquam*, Baehrens *acrior instat* and Watt *anxius intrat*. However, **C** (*vet. cod.*) reads *agmina quem quaerit nusquam videt, atque iterum intrat* where possibly the sequence of *q*'s was too much for a scribe of the alternative tradition. Because of the manuscript authority of Carrio's reading I feel that the conjecture of Loehbach, although excellent, can be discarded. This implies printing *adque* **V**, with Thilo and Courtney, or *atque* **L+C** with Bury and Giarratano, with a full stop after *peragrat*. Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Kramer, Mozley, Ehlers printed *utque* Burman, which is not necessary.

**intrat** sc. *aciem*.

**301 vociferans** opening the hexameter, as in 5.170 (with Wijsman), 8.446; compare in particular Verg. *A*. 9.596, the taunt of Numanus, model for the taunt of Gesander in 323-339. Stat. *Theb*. 7.663 may have derived the word from VF in view of the resemblance between the following lines with the Gesander passage. In the *Thebaid*, after Mars has suddenly roused the parties into open war, the Muses are addressed and the fate of Pterelas is described as the first feat of Tydeus before Thebes. Directly after the Pterelas scene Eunaeus, a priest, is killed by Capaneus, to which the killing of Aquites has served as the model. This is indicated by the use of *vociferans* in *Theb*. 7.663 (Smolenaars 307 and 414 does not mention a reference to the present line). Eunaeus is shouting for peace; in the model Aquites shouted the name of his son.

**belli diversa** the father is looking in both camps (299), but here *diversa* should be interpreted differently: he paces through 'the various chances war has to offer'. The expression can be compared to *strata viarum* (Verg. *A*. 1.421).

**peragrat** *peragrat, peragrant, peragrans, peragro* concluding the line in Verg. *A*. 4.72, *G*. 4.53, *A*. 10.723, 1.384, respectively. Of these, 10.723 *leo seu saepe peragrans* is from a comparison of Mezentius with a lion.

**302 caeruleas ... vittas** according to TLL 3.105.25 f., 3.106.76 f. *caeruleus*, more often applied to glaucous or blue colour, should be interpreted as 'black' (as it must in Verg. *A*. 3.64, with Servius). However, it is not used in the context of a funeral, as in the *Aeneid*; Aquites has a clear connexion with a river, and *caeruleus* is combined with *vittae* in VF 1.189 with reference to Glaucus the sea-god (Verg. *G*. 1.437, Ov. *Met*. 13.900 ff.) in the company of Neptune and Thetis, while in 1.218 ff. the word

refers to Hylas with *harundine crines*, *caeruleae vestes*, alluding to his drowning, and in 6.563 to Peucon, son of a Maeotian nymph, again combined with *materna harundine*. Compare further Verg. *G.* 4.388 *caeruleus Proteus*, *A.* 3.432 *(Scylla)*, 5.819 (Neptune), 8.64 *caeruleus Thybris*, 713 *(Nilus)*, Ov. *Met.* 2.8 *caeruleos habet unda deos*, 1.275 *caeruleus frater* (=Neptune), 1.333 *(Triton)*, 3.342 *(Liriope)*, 5.432 *(Cyane)*, 11.398 *(Psamathe)*, 13.288 (Thetis), 742 *(Doris)*, 895 *(Acis)*, 962 (Glaucus). — On the word pair *caeruleus/ caerulus* (as in 563) see Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 3.342, TLL 3.103.71 ff., further Antolín 286 ff.

**lancea ... circumstrepit incita vittas** the lance makes a noise, and may have hit the fillets; it is a narrow escape. I suggest the words should be read as *circumstrepit*, 'surround with noise' instead of *circum strepit* **V+L**, edd. The word *circumstrepere* is used in late Latin, not attested before Man. 1.23 (*mundus et immenso vatem circumstrepit orbe*), but several times recorded in Sen. (*Ep.*, *Dial.*), Tac. (*Hist*, *Ann.*), Gell., Apul. (TLL 3.1174.68 ff.). The emendation would result in a golden line of five words (see 1 n.). — *incita* has the *-i* short, like 705 *concita (cuspis)*; compare *concita (arma)* with long *-i* in 5.576.

**303 admissis ... habenis** 'having spurred *the horse*', as in Liv. 2.19.6 *equum infestus admisit*, al. This is not to suggest taking *habenae* as metonymy for a horse (on which see 95 n.); rather, this is an instance of contamination of *admittere equum* with *immittere habenas* (cf. VF 1.687, 5.586 with Wijsman).

**ferus ... Gesander** Gesander is *ferus*, like a wild beast, and this *ferus* may allude to Verg. *A.* 10.711 *ferox aper* in a simile comparing Mezentius to a wild boar beset by the hunters. *ferus* was already applied to Gesander in 287, where it can be explained by the mixture of grief (*doloris*, 279) and anger to have had to kill his father. At once by this word Aquites' fate is sealed.

**hunc V+L**, printed by Thilo, Bury, Giarratano, Kramer. Burman proposed *hinc*, '*i.e. deinde*', probably because the victim of Gesander is referred to in the next line by *ille*; now first *hunc*, then *ille* for the same person would raise questions. However, in Verg. *A.* 10.769 f. *huic contra Aeneas speculatus in agmine longo / obvius ire parat. manet imperterritus ille*, both *huic* and *ille* refer to Mezentius. Therefore, there is no reason to alter *hunc* here.

*

304. ille manum trepidans atque inrita sacra tetendit
305. 'te'que 'per hanc' inquit, 'genitor tibi si manet, oro
306. canitiem, compesce minas et sicubi nato
307. parce meo!' dixit. contra sic victor adacto
308. ense refert:

**304 ff.** These lines refer to the weird customs of the Iazyges as described in 123-128. The victim begs for mercy in the name of his assailant's parents, as is done, for instance, in Verg. *A.* 10.524 *per patrios manes*, 597 *per qui te talem genuere parentes*, *A.* 12.932-936 and was already found in Homer (*Il.* 22.338, 24.486); but in the present case he receives in return merely scorn.

**304 trepidans** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.788 *(Aeneas) trepidanti fervidus instat* (Aeneas and Mezentius).

**inrita sacra tetendit** for the scene compare Verg. *Aen.* 2.429 f. *nec tua plurima, Panthu, / labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit.* The idea that priesthood cannot save one from fate finds antecedents in Verg. *A.* 12.539 *nec di texere Cupencum*, Hom. *Il.* 1.28 (Agamemnon speaking) μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο, 5.76 ff. (Hypsenor). Compare VF 6.643 *intonso nequiquam crine* (Phasiades), 6.619 (Auchus) and the fate of Umbro (*A.* 7.750-760), Haemonides (*A.* 10.537 ff.), Chloreus (*A.* 11.768), Eunaeus (Stat. *Theb.* 7.649 with Smolenaars *ad* 649-687). — For *inrita* with adverbial force see 264 n.

**305** Carrio found in his *vetus codex* the word order *inquit genitor*, which does away with many remarks upon the metrically questionable *genitor inquit* **V+L**.

**genitor** seems derived from Seneca (see 306 n. and compare the vocative in 308). The word is frequent in the Mezentius passage in *Aeneid X*.

**per hanc ... oro (canitiem)** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.549 *canitiemque sibi et longos promiserat annos.* The word *canities* is probably derived, however, from *A.* 10.844 where it is also the first word of the line and refers to the white hair of Mezentius. *oro* may be derived from *A.* 10.903, 905 where *Mezentius* is in a situation to plead for his life; he only asks, however, to be buried together with his son. Compare *oro* with imperative (parallels in Verg. *A.* 10.61, Stat. *Theb.* 6.809 *ite, oro, ... ite, opponite dextras*) with *oro* accompanying a subjunctive (VF 6.733).

**306 compesce minas** cf. 1.606, Sen. *Her.O.* 1456 *compesce diras, genitor, irarum minas*, Sil. 4.125 *sed compesce minas* (from TLL 3.2062.46 ff.), as well as Verg. *A.* 10.451 *tolle minas.* However, in the first quotation threats from outside are referred to, here and in the other two '*your*' threats are concerned.

**sicubi** **V**, **L**; 'if <you might find him> anywhere', as Thilo supplied, although Köstlin rejected such an ellipsis and conjectured *si tibi natus* (printed by Langen, Bury, Mozley). However, Courtney refers to the similar *siquando* in VF 8.213.

**307 dixit. contra ...** as in a dialogue; cf. (from TLL 4.739.13 ff. ) Verg. *A.* 10.16 f., Hor. *S.* 1.4.38 *agedum, pauca accipe contra*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.536 f. Beginning the line with *dixit* (also in VF 6.340, and compare *dixerat* in 6.315) may serve to characterize Gesander's way of speaking as that of Mezentius: Verg. *A.* 10.776, 867, 882. *contra* can be compared to *A.* 10.898 (*contra Tyrrhenus ...* after the taunt of Aeneas).

**adacto (ense)** *adacto* is probably derived from Verg. *A.* 10.850 *vulnus adactum.* See further 273 n. (*telo ... adacto*).

*

'genitor, turpi durare senecta
quem mihi reris adhuc, ipse hac occumbere dextra
maluit atque ultro segnes abrumpere metas.
et tibi si pietas nati, si dextra fuisset,
haud medii precibus tereres nunc tempora belli,
praeda future canum. iuveni sors pulchrior omnis:
et certasse manu decet et caruisse sepulchro.'
dixerat. ille deos moriens caelumque precatur,
dextera ne misero talis foret obvia nato.

**308** Word for word the priest's speech is answered: *genitor* repeated (and taking up the vocative mentioned in 306 n.), *mihi* picking up *tibi* (305), *senecta canitiem* (306), with all the sarcasm of the situation.

**turpi senecta** the epithet at once sets the stage. See 290 n.

**durare (mihi)** cf. 5.24 with Wijsman.

**309 hac occumbere dextra** cf. 126 *dextra sed carae occumbere prolis*, 286, Sil. 5.562 *haud alia decuit te occumbere dextra*, 12.645 *haud alia potis est occumbere dextra.*

**310 segnes abrumpere metas** harshly expressed; Giarratano mentions a conjecture *perrumpere*. Langen suggested *abrumpere telas*, alluding to the threads in the looms of the Parcae; in fact Juv. 14.249 f. has *morieris stamine nondum abrupto*. The usual expression is *abrumpere vitam* with its variants, as in (TLL 1.141.18 ff.) Verg. *A.* 4.631 (*lucem*), 8.579, 9.497, Luc. 4.483 (*momentum lucis*), Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.63 (*annos*), *Theb.* 10.357 (*annis*), Sil. 2.597, Sen. *Her. O.* 895 (*fata*), *Tro.* 939 (*lucis moras*). The absence of any further explanation of *metas* is an example of VF's *brevitas* and characterizes late poetry, basing itself upon a storehouse of predecessors.

**segnes ... metas** for *metae* as life's end compare Verg. *A.* 10.472 *metasque dati pervenit ad aevi*, 12.546 *hic tibi mortis erant metae*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.1 *vitae ... tangere metam*, Sil. 5.406 *Parcarum ... metas*, *Epic. Drusi* 359 f. *tendimus huc omnes, metam properamus ad unam;/ omnia sub leges Mors vocat atra suas.*

**311 pietas nati** as Bulaeus remarked, the equivalent of *pius natus*. Compare Verg. *A.* 10.812 *fallit te incautum pietas tua*, (the *pietas* of Mezentius' son Lausus), 10.824 *patriae ... pietatis imago* (with reference to Lausus).

**dextra** also in 316, both referring to the *dextra* of 6.126, the instrument of euthanasia.

**312 tereres ... tempora belli** cf. Liv. 1.27.6 *ut tereret tempus*, Ov. *Ep.* 7.142 *et teris in rapido tempora longa freto?*, Sen. *Ep.* 113.1 *nihil profuturis otium terere.*

**medii ... belli** see 180 n.

**313 praeda future canum** vocative; see 647 n. Gesander now completely appropriates his rôle as *contemptor divum.*

**iuveni sors pulchrior omnis** f.: to be compared to Hom. *Il.* 22.71 ff. νέῳ δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν/ ἀρηικταμένῳ, δεδαιγμένῳ ὀξέι χαλκῷ/ κεῖσθαι. πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ, ὅττι φανήῃ. *omnis* was conjectured by van Lennep, in Schenkl 1883 :141 for *omni* **V+L**. *omnis* going with *sors* seems to agree better with the Greek. *omnis* had independently been proposed by Koch 1865:22 with the same argument; Burman had already expressed his concern about *omni.*

**314 certasse ... caruisse** the perfect infinitives (translated by Mozley as present) in such a *sententia* suggest a gnomic aoristic force (cf. Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 6.79 *est autem Attica figura*); yet Austin comments on *A.*

6.79 without making use of the word aorist, while Norden thinks *A.* 6.79 still falls under the rules of possible Latin. Sz. 352, too, states: "*griechische Einfluss wird dabei* (sc. after verbs like *decet*) *kaum mitspielen*".

**decet ... caruisse sepulchro** even unburied a young man's body is still a seemly sight. Rightly Dräger 210 remarks that the Colchians surrounded the dead with barbaric rites and did not know graves; VF gives literature here, not ethnography.

**315 deos ... caelumque** cf. (TLL 3.94.27 ff.) Sil. 6.402 *invidiam caelo divisque ferebat*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.97 *dis coram et caelo inspectante.*

**moriens** probably after Verg. *A.* 10.781 f. *caelumque/ aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.*

**316 misero ... nato** with touching pathos he ends his life with a thought for his son. Compare *miseri ... parentis* in Verg. *A.* 12.932, *miseri ... parentes* in *G.* 3.262 (of Leander); probably VF 6.215 *misero ... parenti* is alluded to, of which *A.* 11.63 *misero sed debita patri* (the body of Pallas to his father Euander) is a source text.

**dextera ... obvia nato** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.769 f. *huic* (= Mezentius) *contra Aeneas ... / obvius ire parat.*

*

317. te quoque, Canthe, tui non inscia funeris Argo
318. flevit ab invita rapientem tela carina.
319. iam Scythicos, miserande, sinus, iam Phasidis amnem
320. contigeras nec longa dies, ut capta videres
321. vellera et Euboicis patrios de montibus ignes.

B.4.c. *317- 342: Canthus subepisode.*
The only Argonauts to fall in battle are Canthus and Iphis (7.423, but what happened to the latter is not related). The slayer of Canthus, Gesander, addresses him in a long monologue of the ethnographical type, gloryfying the uncultivated and their uncontaminated ways, with as its subtext Verg. *A.* 9.590-620, the speech of Numanus.

**317 te quoque, Canthe** his death was prophesied in 1.451 f. (*Canthus, in Aeaeo volvet quem barbara cuspis/ pulvere*), modelled upon ARh 1.77 ff. αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης Κάνθος κίε where he, too, was doomed to die — however, in Libya. ARh makes him a grandson of Abas, VF a son. In 7.422 his death (*externa cuspide*) is deemed in vain. The apostrophe is

strongly reminiscent of ARh 4.1485 ff., where Canthus is killed by a shepherd who sees him stealing sheep: Κάνθε, σὲ δ' οὐλόμεναι Λιβύῃ ἔνι Κῆρες ἕλοντο. In fact Gesander the nomad kills the Greeks as people who have come to rob him of his possessions (*rapina* 332) and prized freedom. The words *te quoque* occur in Verg. *A.* 12.542 ff. *te quoque Laurentes viderunt, Aeole, campi/ oppetere et late terram consternere tergo./ occidis, Argivae quem non potuere phalanges/ sternere nec Priami regnorum eversor Achilles;/ hic tibi mortis erant metae, domus alta sub Ida,/ Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulchrum.* Aeolus had survived so much trouble, but now his time had come, and possibly this pathetic background is invoked by the poet in his apostrophe to Canthus. The mere fact of an Argonaut meeting his master is unique in the *Argonautica.* — See also 103 n.

**non inscia** cf. 5.3 *non inscius* (with Wijsman), 2.278 *non inscia.*

**318 (Argo) flevit** the ship can speak in addition to feeling emotions; cf. 5.65.

**ab invita ... carina** as if the ship had tried to prevent him finding his weapons.

**rapientem tela** cf. 5.8 f. *arma revellit ... e celsa ... rate.* On the use of *rapere* compare Wijsman *ad* 5.41, with the correction that Langen's list is at 1.254 n.

**319 Scythicos ... sinus** cf. *pontus* (1.59, 1.331, 2.379 (with Poortvliet), 574), *mare* (1.345), *arcum* (for 'sea', 4.728).

**miserande** cf. *miserande puer* for Mezentius' son Lausus in Verg. *A.* 10.825 and 11.42 (Pallas). Apparently the adversary of Gesander, Canthus, is given traits of the pathetic Lausus.

**320 nec longa dies (sc. tibi fuisset)** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.783 *quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla* where, however, *longa dies* is used differently (attributively, 'a lapse of time') from here (predicatively, 'the time would not be far away'). Constructions with *longum* occur frequently, *e.g.* Stat. *Theb.* 7.300 *nec longum, et,* short for *nec longum tempus, et* (Verg. *G.* 2.80).

**capta (vellera)** in fact the next day.

**321 Euboicis** see 317 n. Compare the Euboean scenes on the shield of Canthus (1.453 ff.).

**patrios de montibus ignes** cf. 4.755 *in montibus ignis.*

*

322. illum ubi congressu subiit Gesander iniquo
323. territat his: 'tu qui faciles hominumque putasti
324. has, Argive, domos, alium hic miser aspicis annum
325. altricemque nivem festinaque taedia vitae.
326. non nos aut levibus componere bracchia remis
327. novimus aut ventos opus expectare ferentes:
328. imus equis qua vel medio riget aequore pontus
329. vel tumida fremit Hister aqua. nec moenia nobis
330. vestra placent: feror Arctois nunc liber in arvis
331. cuncta tenens; mecum omnis amor iacturaque plaustri
332. sola nec hac longum victor potiere rapina.

**322-339** ethnographical excursus, accompanied by a taunt. A similar passage in Verg. *A.* 9.590- 620 (speech of Numanus). There is direct influence in 336, 339 (see nn.) and inspiration in 329 (see n.); probably *vociferans* in 301 was inspired by the same word in Verg. *A.* 9.596. Numanus was killed after his boasting; so is Gesander. For taunts see Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.677-680.

**322 congressu ... iniquo** *iniquus*, 'unequal', 'illmatched' (against such a giant barbarian) is derived, with a little variation from Verg. *A.* 10.889 *pugna congressus iniqua*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.675 *congressu Capaneus .... iniquo.* It is not necessary with J.A. Wagner to suppose that Canthus was only snatching up (*rapiens*) his arms and not yet ready. For the motif one may compare Verg. *Aen.* 1.475 *(Troilus) impar congressus Achilli*, or 10.459 *viribus imparibus* (between Pallas and Turnus). Smolenaars *ad Theb.* 669 explains how Capaneus is modelled upon Mezentius from Verg. *A.10*, but because Mezentius has been the model for VF's Gesander (see 293 n.), Statius can in his turn make use of VF. In Statius the man meeting his fate in an unequal fight is the priest Eunaeus; it is as if Statius has just read about the fate of the priest Aquites, then found the words *congressu ... iniquo* applied to Canthus versus Gesander, and suddenly realized how well these would fit to the meeting of blasphemous Capaneus and Eunaeus. This means that Statius (alone) realized that the model for Gesander had been Mezentius[17]. Compare Wijsman 2000.

[17] Priority of VF over Statius seems established by VF's deriving his *congressu iniquo* from Vergilian *pugna congressus iniqua* in the whole context of the Mezentius/Gesander story, whereas and Statius took over *congressu iniquo* in his Capaneus passage, which is much poorer in (verbal) references to the *Aeneid* (Smolenaars *ad loc.*).

**323 territat** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.426 f. *at non ... perterrita Lausus / ... sinit agmina* and 770 *manet imperterritus ille (Aeneas)*. Canthus is *not* the equal of Aeneas.

**his** in the *Aeneid his dictis* (frequent), in VF only 6.587, 7.451.

**faciles hominumque ... (has ... domos)** Probably enallage is involved, *faciles* referring to the inhabitants. *hominumque* may be used in a pregnant way (OLD4b), 'houses of easy-going men and, in addition, of beings obeying the rules of humanity'. Compare Cic. *Att.* 9.18.1 = Sh.Bailey 187 *facilem quod <Caesarem> putaramus*, Luc. 4.363 f. *at Caesar facilis ... / flectitur*, VF 5.524 *facili mente*, Ov. *Met.* 5.558 f. (against the Sirens) *posse super fluctus alarum insistere remis / optastis facilesque deos habuistis* (the oars seem to be the model for 326), 9.756 *dique mihi faciles*, Sil. 16.210 *facili, quae dicam, percipe mente.*

**324** Deictic *has* and *hic* as if the Argives were on a guided tour through Scythia. In fact the setting of the excursus lacks realism, in contrast to Vergil's one about the pristine Sabines.

**alium ... annum** *annus* for 'season', 'climate', as in Verg. *A.* 6.311 *frigidus annus*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.23.8 *pomifero ... anno*, *Epod.* 2.29 *annus hibernus*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.157 *versum ... annum.*

**miser** contemptuously; see 648 n.

**325 altricem ... nivem** cf. Verg. *A.* 3.273 *et terram altricem saevi exsecramur Ulixi*, 'the land where Ulysses was *reared*'. In so far as he thinks of plants germinating in melting snow, Plin. *Nat.* 22.8 may be compared, *altrice ipsa humo. altrix*, highly poetic, is often combined with *terra, tellus, etc.* (TLL 1.1770.81 ff. with examples from Cicero, Sil. 1.218); we may understand 'this snowy land that has bred me'. — The harsh transition to *taedia vitae* is unexpected. Lüthje 253 thinks that the contrast is between the Greek coasts, glad to be free from snow, and the Scythian inland where snow is welcomed and considered the right element.

**festinaque taedia vitae** 'and weariness of life comes fast'. On these customs see 304 ff. n.

**326 componere bracchia remis** poetically for *ponere manus, manum imponere*; cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.8.82 *isdem studiis imposuisse manum.*

**levibus ... remis** *levis* 'fast', as in 240 or 697; however, J.A. Wagner thought that *levis* expressed contempt.

**327 ventos ... ferentes** cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.300 φέρων ἄνεμος, 5.111, 7.277, Verg. *A.* 4.430 (=VF 1.266) with Servius, *A.* 3.473, Ov. *Ep.* 16.127, *Am.* 3.11.51, *Tr.* 1.2.73, Sen. *Dial.* 7(*Vit. Beat.*). 22.3 *secundus ac ferens ventus*, Plin. *Pan.* 31.4.

**aut <nobis> opus <est>** a change in construction from *nos* to *nobis*.

**328 imus equis** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.269 *quo Turnus equo ... ibat*, Ov. *Ep.* 1.46 *Ismariis isse ... equis*, *Fast.* 2.314 *Hesperus ... fusco ... ibat equo*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.6 *equos, ibant quibus ante superbi.*

**riget ... pontus** cf. Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.72 *frigore perpetuo Sarmatis ora riget.*

**329 fremit Hister** either the horses cross the ice, under which the Danube, already swollen in spring (*tumida*) is impatient to break its shackles; or they cross even a swollen (roaring) spring river.

**moenia** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.599 *et morti praetendere muros.* I feel that it is the protection of walls that Gesander can do without, rather than the comfort of a city.

**330 feror** cf. (aggressively) Ov. *Tr.* 4.9.27 *iam feror in pugnas*, Verg. *A.* 2.337 *in flammas et in arma feror*, 10.442 *solus ego in Pallanta feror.*

**arctois ... in arvis** cf. **arctois ... in armis** (295). Gesander is proud of his Russian plain.

**nunc V+L**: *nam* printed by Carrio, *mea* Morel, *hinc* Watt 167. The conjectures give a good text, as conjectures should, but Helm 244 has defended *nunc* and I agree.

**331 ff.** the punctuation of the line is different in the various editions, while some editors have changed the text: Baehrens (+ Mozley) *omnia ago*, Bury *omnis agor.* Some have punctuated after *mecum* (Langen with a semi-colon, Burman with a colon). Apparently one has to understand: 'I roam now free in the Arctic with all I possess; all I love I have with me, *if I lose a skirmish* the loss is my wagon only, and even if you have won you will not long enjoy the booty'. In itself *mecum* could certainly go with *cuncta tenens*, but this leaves *omnis amor* unintelligible.

**331 cuncta tenens** (Mss.); *cuncta vehens* Frieseman, astute, but not strictly necessary.

**mecum omnis amor iacturaque plaustri/ (sola)** the wagon had for these plain-dwellers a central position in their lives; cf.

VF 2.176 ff. *Sarmaticas utinam Fortuna dedisset/ insedisse domos .../ plaustra sequi...*, and see Poortvliet *ad* 2.176 ff. For the feeling cf. Verg. *G.* 3.343 f. *omnia secum/ armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque.*

**332 longum** adverbially, as in Verg. *A.* 10.740 *victor nec longum laetabere* (dying Orodes to Mezentius). Here it is the figure of Gesander/Mezentius speaking words spoken *to* Mezentius in the model, making clear that the subtext on the one hand furnished the general background of the godless man, on the other has had motifs and expressions rearranged. Similarly, the prayer for life in 305, spoken *to* Gesander, was based upon words spoken *by* Mezentius. The sense of the whole phrase can be compared to *A.* 9.613 *comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto* (in the speech of Numanus; first used in the catalogue of Italians, 7.749 *convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto*).

*

333 ast epulae quodcumque pecus, quaecumque ferarum.
334. mitte Asiae, mitte Argolicis mandata colonis
335. ne trepident: numquam has hiemes, haec saxa relinquam,
336. Martis agros, ubi tam saevo duravimus amne
337. progeniem natosque rudes, ubi copia leti
338. tanta viris. sic in patriis bellare pruinis
339. praedarique iuvat talemque hanc accipe dextram'!

**333 quaecumque ferarum** as a predator he may be called an 'opportunist'; the passage probably modelled upon Verg. *A.* 9.605 *venatu invigilant.*

**334 mitte ... mandata** Prop. 4.3.1 *haec Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotae.* 'Send the message that they need not tremble".

**colonis** 'farmers', 'settlers' (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9.4, Stat. *Theb.* 11.117. The word may nevertheless have been chosen in view of its easy association with the Greek colonies on the Ukrainian coast, of which the reader knows that there have been many, possibly under constant threat by the barbarians, as described by Ovid.

**335 relinquam** ed. 1498, *relinquat* **V+L**, *relinquant* **C** (*vet.cod.).* The verb explains *ne trepident.* There may be an allusion to what Greeks do when going on their aggressive expeditions, they abandon their own land (see 84 n.).

**336 Martis agros** warfare is there a habit.

**saevo duravimus amne** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.604 *(natos) saevoque gelu duramus et undis.* **C** read *Martis agro subitam,* a nice example of a scribe misdividing the words.

**337 natosque rudes** cf. 1.771 *aevum rudis ... proles,* 1.823 f. *primo ... rudem sub limine rerum/ te, puer, ...,* Tac. *Ann.* 13.16.4 *Octavia, ... quamvis rudibus annis, ...*

**copia leti** cf. Luc. 6.619 *novae ... copia mortis,* Stat. *Theb.* 9.491 *magnae copia mortis.*

**338 patriis ... pruinis** cf. Flor. *Epit.* 2.29 (4.12.20) *(Sarmatae) nihil praeter nives pruinasque et silvas habent. tanta barbaria est, ut nec intellegant pacem* (from Poortvliet *ad* 2.177).

**339 praedarique iuvat** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.613 *comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto* or, for the content, Ov. *Met.* 1.144 *vivitur ex rapto* (the age of iron).

**accipe dextram** the same hand again that killed Voraptes and Aquites (309, 311, 316). The prospects are clear.

*

dixit et Edonis nutritum missile ventis
concitat. it medium per pectus et horrida nexu
letifer aera chalybs. trepidus super advolat Idas
ac simul Oenides pariterque Menoetius et qui
Bebrycio pugnis remeavit ab hospite victor.
at vero ingentem Telamon procul extulit orbem
exanimem te, Canthe, tegens. ceu saeptus in arto
dat catulos post terga leo, sic comminus astat
Aeacides gressumque tenet contraque ruentem
septeno validam circumfert tegmine molem.

**340 Edonis** the adjective *Edonus* is derived from the Edoni, a tribe in Thrace, by extension standing for 'northerly'; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.365 *Edoni Boreae,* Ov. *Rem.* 593, Sen. *Her.O.* 191, Stat. *Theb.* 5.78 *Edonas hiemes Arctonque prementem.*

**nutritum missile ventis** apparently a translation of ἀνεμοτρεφής, used in Homer of a wave as well as of a lance (*Il.* 11.256), where the idea as discussed in 712 n. may play a rôle that much wind

delays the growth of the wood and, therefore, makes the wood stronger (Sen. *Dial.*1 (*Prov)*.4.16 *non est arbor solida nec fortis nisi in quam frequens ventus incursat*).

**341 concitat** cf., in the same first position in the hexameter, Verg. *A.* 11.784 *(telum) concitat.*

**it medium per pectus** a deadly wound; nevertheless the death of Canthus only appears from *exanimis* in 346. The same restraint in Verg. *A.* 10.425 concerning the death of Halaesus.

**horrida nexu (...aera)** cf. 233 *riget his molli lorica catena.*

**342 letifer** on words ending in *-fer* see 138 n. Shelton 354 points out that *letifer* echoes *copia leti* in 337.

**chalybs** used for 'weapon' in Sen. *Thy.* 364 *(quem) non strictus domuit chalybs*, Luc. 7.518 *externum ... chalybem*, Sil. 2.107 *volucerque chalybs, Minoia tela.* 'Iron' as the word chosen is interesting in view of the fact that iron can easily pierce bronze.

B.4.d. *342-385 Gesander's death.*
Around the dead body of Canthus an epic contest arises, laden with similes. Gesander falls at the hands of the Amazons.

**trepidus ... Idas** this cannot mean that Idas was afraid for himself (as he is, finally, in 382) since he is included among the greatest heroes (*e.g.*, 1.166, 4.222 ff.)., but rather in alarm for his comrade Canthus, as in 7.573 f. *horruit audax/ ...Idas* for Jason.

**343 Oenides** Oeneus was the father of Meleager and Tydeus, the latter father of Diomedes. Therefore, *Oenides* can apply to all three; here Meleager is meant, as also in Ov. *Met.* 8.414, *Ep.* 4.99. He played a rôle in the departure from Mysia, leaving Hercules behind (3.645 ff., resulting in 3.690 *talibus Oenides urget*).

**Menoetius** the father of Patroclus is also present. But he has not been mentioned earlier.

**344 (qui) Bebrycio pugnis remeavit ab hospite victor** =Pollux (4.99-343). Pius conjectured that the name *Pollux* should take the place of *propius* Mss. Bailey suggested *sociis*, Langen *sospes*, Baehrens and Mozley printed *nuper*, Giarratano *promptus*,

Sandström suggested *primus*, Köstlin *patrius*. I feel the best conjecture is Watt's (167) *pugnis*. In support he quotes Prop. 3.14.18 *(Pollux et Castor)*

{sic} *hic victor pugnis, ille futurus equis*, and explains *pugnis* on the analogy of Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.26 (with Nisbet/Hubbard) as 'with the fists'.

**Bebrycio ... ab hospite** Amycus a *hospes*?? Irony.

**remeavit ab hospite victor** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.95 *si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.566 f. *Erythraeis sed nuper victor ab oris/ Liber.* Smolenaars 1991:64 speaks of a fascinating series of parallels when he concludes that Statius based himself upon VF, but also alluded to Verg. *A.* 8.686 *victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro* (= Antonius), in this way suggesting a depreciative connexion between Liber and Antonius. Moreover, cf. Luc. 2.552 f. *utinam ... sospes/ et Scythicis Crassus victor remeasset ab oris.* Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 9.136: "Die Verbindung von *victor* mit einem Verbum revertendi ist in Poesie und Prosa sehr geläufig"; he gives a list of instances.

**345 Telamon** who else but the father of Aiax, who protected the body of Patroclus in Hom. *Il.* 17.123 ff.; see 346 ff. n.

**extulit ... orbem** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.261 *clipeum cum deinde sinistra/ extulit ardentem*, Sil. 4.326 *isque ubi Callaici radiantem tegminis orbem/ extulit. orbis* for 'shield'as in Verg. *A.* 10.783 f. *per orbem/ aere cavum triplici*, or *A.* 2.227, 10.546, 12.925 (all with *clipei*), followed in silver Latin epic (sometimes with the omission of *clipei*), but ultimately based upon Aesch. *Sept.* 489 ἅλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω, and 496 κύκλον. *orbis* for 'shield' was the only point in common with *Aeneid 10* noticed by Langen.

**346 ff.** The lion simile is ultimately based upon Hom *Il.* 17.133 ff. (about Aiax) in the context of the contest over the arms of Patroclus: ἑστήκει ὥς τίς τε λέων περὶ οἷσι τέκεσσιν,/ ᾧ ῥά τε νήπι' ἄγοντι συναντήσωνται ἐν ὕλῃ/ ἄνδρες ἐπακτῆρες. In *Il.* 5.297 ff. Aeneas is protecting the body of Pandarus: Αἰνείας δ' ἀπόρουσε σὺν ἀσπίδι δουρί τε μακρῷ/ δείσας μή πώς οἱ ἐρυσαίατο νεκρὸν 'Αχαιοί./ ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαῖνε λέων ὥς, ... In VF 6.148 we learn who it was who stole the cubs: an *Exomates*, living from his *venatus*, as line 333 has told us Gesander's countrymen do. Gärtner cited *Od.* 20.14 f. where a bitch is defending her cubs.

Other lion similes are 1.757 *leo* (Aeson), 3.587 f. *velut ... leo* (Hercules), 3.635 f. *tigris aut leo* (Argonauts), 737 *non aliter ... leo* (Hercules) *prolis ademptae ...*, 6.613 *qualis leo* (Jason; see note), 8.455 f. *veluti truces leones* (Medea). The detail that the lion is *saeptus in arto* may be derived from Verg. *A.* 9.551 *ut fera quae densa venantum saepta corona* (Garson 1969:365).

The whole picture within its two half-lines makes a fresh and original impression.

**exanimem** *exanimis* twice in VF, *exanimus* also twice; see Wijsman *ad* 5.28.

**tegens** cf. *Inc. trag.* 62 *vidi te Ulixes ... tegentem clipeo classem Doricam.*

**ceu** see Harrison 85. the archaic word had a bright future in silver epic; its frequency is 19 times in the *Aeneid*, 9 in Ov. *Met.*, twice in Luc., 28 times in VF, 60 in the *Thebaid*, 75 in Sil.

**347 dat ... post terga** *dare* as the simplex of *abdere*, that is, as τίθημι. Compare Phaedr. 4.10.2 *(peras) post tergum dedit.* Also in 670.
**leo** a lion with cubs, as in Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.8 f. without cubs: *citus me tigris abactis / fetibus orbatique velint audire leones.* Pius drily observed that the male lion can also defend his young — it is as if he knew that lions, in contrast to tigers, live in groups. More about tigers in Sen. *Med.* 863 ff. *ut tigris orba natis / cursu furente lustrat / Gangeticum nemus.* Here *leo* has the *-o* long, unlike *leo* in 613 (Kösters 87).

**astat** (Baehrens, *hasta* **V+L**) 'to stand firm', as in Verg. *A.* 10.885 *circum astantem ... equitavit* (Aeneas around Mezentius).

**348 Aeacides** Telamon, brother of Peleus.

**gressumque tenet** cf. 7.110 *ardentes tenet intra limina gressus*; *tenere* is used for *retinere* (Stadler *ad loc.*).

**ruentem** (**V+L**) Gesander; *ruentes* Heinsius, printed by Baehrens and Mozley.

**349 circumfert** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.887 *immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam (Aeneas)* (= the forest of spears striking in his shield).

**septeno ... tegmine** compare the seven layers in 7.464 with Sadler, Verg. *A.* 8.448 *septenosque ... orbis*, VF 6.367 *clipei septemplicis*, Ov. *Ars* 3.112. See further 367 n. *septeni* is 'sevenfold' as in 7.464 *septeno murmure.*

**molem** cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.75 *opposui molem clipei.*

*

350. nec minus hinc urget Scythiae manus armaque Canthi
351. quisque sibi et Graio poenam de corpore poscens.
352. arduus inde labos medioque in corpore pugna
353. conseritur. magno veluti cum turbine sese
354. ipsius Aeoliae frangunt in limine venti,
355. quem pelagi rabies, quem nubila quemque sequatur

356. ille dies, obnixa virum sic comminus haeret
357. pugna nec arrepto pelli de corpore possunt.

**350 nec minus** epic diction, twelve times beginning the hexameter in Vergil; in Ov. *Met.* five times, not in Luc., in VF nine, Statius five, Silius four times. Also found in 6.542.

**hinc** one would be inclined to conjecture *hunc* (in view of (practically synonymous) *inde* in 352); but *hinc* is local, with reference to Telamon, *inde* temporal. Anyhow *illum* would be more in place; as it is *eum* has to be supplied. The 1523 (Aldine) edition read *poscit* instead of *poscens*, but, as Burman already observed, this would not make any easier the difficulty of *-que ... et*, on which see below.

**armaque ... (et poenam)** zeugmatic: the weaponry as well as the revenge of seeing the naked body thrown to the dogs and vultures. *-que ... et* is not common (K/S 2.37), found in Plautus, Ennius, Livy (1.43.2 *tela in hostem hastaque et gladius*, 2.59,7 *tumultus ... signaque et ordines turbavit*); cf. Verg. *G.* 2.119, 3.223, *A.* 8.361, Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.46 *Nilusque et Ister*, Ov. *Met.* 1.674 f., 7.541, 4.739.

**351 poenam ... poscens** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.72 *poenas cum sanguine poscunt.* For *poscere de* TLL 10.2.82.70 can only invoke one other example, Luc. 9.617 f. *et in tota Lybiae fons unus harena/ ille fuit, de quo primus sibi posceret undam (Cato).* In view of *corpore* in 352 and 357, Ehlers is rightly suspicious with regard to *de corpore* here.

**352 arduus ... labos** for the combination see Wijsman *ad* 5.542. VF uses *labos* twice (here and in 361), in both instances *-os* is long because of the long vowel as well as by position. *labor* is 16 times short (before a vowel), four times long by position.

**medioque in corpore** 'with the corpse in the middle'; cf. 364 *medium ... Canthum.* TLL *s.v. medius* gives some other examples, such as Liv. 10.2.15 *in flumine oppidi medio* (Patavium). Apart from the battle for the body of Patroclus in *Il.17/18* (or around dead Euphorbus, 17.68 ff.), the topos is continued in Stat. *Theb.9* around the body of Tydeus. Leonteus dares to draw it away *prenso crine* (9.135).

**pugna (conseritur)** *pugnam conserere*, 'to join battle', as in (from OLD) Pl. *Bac.* 967, Verg. *A.* 2.398, Liv. 26.39.12; see 182 n.

**353 veluti cum turbine... (venti)** cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.765 ὡς δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλοισιν (770 ὣς ...), where Trojans and

Greeks contending with each other for the body of Cebriones are compared to winds shaking and breaking trees, followed by Verg. *A.* 2.416 *adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti,* 10.356 ff. *magno discordes aethere venti/ proelia ceu tollunt animis et viribus aequis;/ non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit; anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra:/ haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae/ concurrunt, haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.* A fine treatment of the motif is found in Luc. 5.597 ff., where Corus, Boreas, Eurus and Notus contend for the mastery of the sea, 602 *et dubium pendet vento cui concidat aequor.* The phrase *Aeoliae frangunt in limine venti* strongly resembles Verg. *A.* 10.355 ff. *cernitur limine in ipso/ Ausoniae .... venti ... ceu*[18]. The use of *Aeolia* may have been inspired by *Aeoliam rabiem* in Luc. 9.454. In VF 1.574 ff. is related how Aeolus permits the winds to try and sink the ship Argo, tossed to and fro. Mentioning *Aeolia* brings this to mind and possibly compares implicitly the corpse of Canthus with the wind-driven ship. The strife of various winds is an epic motif, Stat. *Theb.* 1.192, 7.560 f. with Smolenaars, Nisbet/Hubbard *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.13. VF seems to have had *A.* 10.356 in mind (Garson 1969:365) in view of words used by VF in the simile and its sequel and also found in Vergil: *pugna* (359), *nubila* (358), the triply tiered construction *non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit, obnixa* (359), perhaps *haeret* (361), to be compared in VF to, respectively, *pugna* (357), *nubila* (355), a triple construction (355), *obnixa* (356), *haeret* (356). Compare on winds and storms 164 n.

**354 ipsius** with short *-i* always in VF (*e.g.*, 6.717) and in the *Thebaid*, just as always in Catullus and several times in Vergil: Catul. 64.43, 64.67, 68.146, Verg. *G.* 1.452, *A.* 1.114, 2.772, 5.535, 6.396 (all opening the line, as here, except for *A.* 2.772); by contrast, the *-i* is long in Verg. *A.* 5.55, 5.410, 8.484, 11.747. Compare Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 1.41 on *unius, illius, ipsius.*

**Aeoliae** *Aeolia* is several times mentioned in the *Aeneid* as well as the *Argonautica*: Verg. *A.* 1.52, 8.416, 10.37 f., VF 1.576 *Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra,* 1.654 *Aeoliae ... portae*; also in Luc. 9.454 *Aeoliam rabiem,* Stat. *Theb.* 1.346 f. *claustra rigentis/ Aeoliae.*

**(sese) frangunt** said of winds in Luc. 9.450 f. *non ... ortum/ (Austrum) frangit Libye,* Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.17, Plin. *Nat.* 34.40 *unde maxime*

[18] The resemblance in line number of VF 6.354 and Verg. *A.* 10.355 is matched by the content and looks like an instance of "numerical allusion" as discussed by Liberman XLVI.

*flatum opus erat frangi*; differently in Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.42 (Aeolus 'constrains' the winds). Rightly Mozley adds '*contesting* which of them shall ...'; this becomes more logical if *sese* is not considered as 'themselves' but as 'each other'. The winds throng together at the doorstep of Aeolia, each wishing to be the first out with all the advantages of being the first; 'they try to break each other's force, <so as to determine> whom that day may follow'. The scene on the doorstep is similar to 1.609 *tum validam contorto turbine portam/ impulit Hippotades, fundunt se carcere laeti* ..., where *impulit* refers to 'pushing the door open' and Hippotades = Aeolus.

**355 pelagi rabies** cf. (TLL 10.1.990.36) Sil. 11.451 f. *iras/ ... vel pelagi vel tristis Averni*, 2.290 *venturam pelagi rabiem*, 14.59 *pelagique ... furorem*, Luc. 3.195 *pelagique furentibus undis*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.372 *pelagique tumultu.*

**quemque sequatur/ (ille dies)** *et quem sequatur*; for the thought Langen points to Luc. 5.602, where for a time it is in doubt which wind will win the contest, *et dubium pendet, vento cui concidat, aequor.* The idea 'which party to join' has already been presented in 2, 21, 181.

**356 ille dies** Meyncke produced the brilliant, but unnecessary conjecture *diluvies.*

**obnixa ... (/pugna)** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.359 *stant obnixa omnia contra*; or, of winds, Luc. 9.334 *et obnixum victor detrusit in Austrum.*

**comminus** together with *pugna* (357) repeating *comminus* (347) and *pugna* (352). Shelton 357: 'By such repetitions the sections of the narrative before and after the simile are linked together'.

**haeret** cf. Luc. 7.547 *constitit his bellum fortunaque Caesaris haesit*, 2.487 f. *hoc limite bellum/ haereat!*

**357 arrepto ... de corpore** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.459 *arrepto tempore.*
**pelli** Burman, for *belli* **V+L**, *velli* ed.princ. Burman cites Stat. *Theb.* 9.144 *non ibi Sidoniae valuissent pellere coepto/ Hippomedonta manus* (around the corpse of Tydeus). *nec pelli ... possunt* recalls 5.29 *avellique negant.*

*

358. ut bovis exuvias multo qui frangit olivo
359. dat famulis, tendunt illi tractuque vicissim
360. taurea terga domant, pingui fluit unguine tellus.
361. talis utrimque labos raptataque limite in arto

362. membra viri miseranda manent. hi tendere contra,
363. hi contra alternaeque virum non cedere dextrae.

**358-363** Here starts a scene in which the corpse of Canthus is pulled hither and thither as was the case with the corpse of Patroclus in Hom. *Il.* 17.389-401, with the simile of the cow's hide, to be greased and stretched out by various hands. There are a few direct references to Homer.

**358 exuvias** high flown, epic style; moreover with overtones of 'spoils', that is, using in the simile a word from the compared situation.

**frangit** **V+L**, for 'to weaken, tame, soften' (OLD does not give close parallels). The Aldine, Baehrens, Mozley printed *frangere*; *dat frangere* with its Greek flavour would be possible, but is not necessary, since *qui frangit, dat* is good Latin.

**olivo** cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.390 μεθύουσαν ἀλοιφῇ.

**359 tractuque** cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.393 πολλῶν ἑλκόντων.

**360 fluit unguine tellus** cf. Sil. 5.431 f. *fluit impia rivis/ sanguineis vallis.*

**unguine** ed. princ. ('fat') for *inguine* **V+L**; cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.392 δύνει δέ τε ἀλοιφή.

**361 talis ... labos** on *labos* for *labor* see 352 n.

**limite in arto** cf. Hom. (after the bovine skin simile) *Il.* 17.394 ὀλίγῃ ἐνὶ χώρι.

**362 manent** Samuelsson (1899:128) as well as Delz (1976:99), *meant* Mss. '= *commeant* Pius' (Ehlers), *madent* Meyncke, *ument* Bury 1893:412. *manent* is a seductive conjecture because it explains *limite in arto*, while the corruption could easily arise: *manent* > *maent* > *meant.*

**hi tendere** probably the choice of words is influenced by *tendunt* (359), further incorporating the simile in the story.

**363 (hi) hi** not *hi ... alii* (1.312 f., Stat. *Theb.* 3.585 ff., 6.942 ff.) or *hi ... illi* as in Verg. *A.* 10.130, Stat. *Theb.* 8.414, 10.525, 11.278, but *hi ... hi* as in Verg. *A.* 6.773 f., 7.695 f., Stat. *Theb.* 2.246; cf. Verg. *A.* 1.106 *hi ... his*, 5.229, 8.55 both *hi ... hos*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.300 *hi ... his ... his)*, 7.460 *hi ... hi ... hi*, 8.231 ff. *hi ... alii ... hi ... illi*, 12.24 *hi ... hi ... illi.* In Stat. *Theb.* 10.270, 788, 874 f., 11.293 *hi ... hi* there is rhetorical anaphora, as in

Luc. 2.380 *hi* ... *haec*, Sil. 11.173 ff. *hi sunt* ... *hi sunt.* In Ov. *Met.* 12.56 *hi* ... *hi* is found, in 11.644 f. *hi* ... *alii* (*hic* in certain Mss.); in Luc. 3.576 ff. *alii* ... *hi.* Sil. 12.746 has *hi* ... *hi*, 9.335 f. *hi* ... *hi* ... *hi*, 2.409 *hi* ... *his.*

*

364. hinc medium Telamon Canthum rapit, hinc tenet ardens
365. colla viri et molles galeae Gesander habenas,
366. insonuit quae lapsa solo dextramque fefellit.
367. ille iterum in clipei septemplicis improbus orbem
368. arietat et Canthum sequitur Canthumque reposcit,
369. quem manus a tergo socium rapit atque receptum
370. virginis Euryales curru locat.

**364 ff.** For the scene compare Hom. *Il.* 3.369 ff. (see below) where Menelaus pulls Paris with him, having got a grip on the helmet; but Venus lets the strap break.

**364 hinc ... hinc** normally 'on the one side ..., on the other', here stressing the pulling 'from here and from there'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.193 f. *qualiter hinc gelidus Boreas, hinc nubifer Eurus/ vela trahunt.*

**rapit, hinc** an example cited by Nicolay, in support of her theory that, to bridge the pause caused by bucolic diaeresis (when followed by a clausula of the type 1-2-2, as in *si bona norint*), an internal link is produced by a combination of consonant -(semi)vowel. Other instances in 480, 579, 733 (also Wijsman *ad* 5.101).

**365 galeae ... habenas** cf. 7.626 *galeae nexus ac vincula dissipat imae.* The *nexus* and *habenae* of the helmet were already mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 3.371 ff. ἄγχε δέ μιν πολύκεστος ἱμὰς ἁπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν,/ ὅς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ὀχεὺς τέτατto τρυφαλείης/ ... κεινὴ δὲ τρυφάλεια ἅμ' ἕσπετο χειρὶ παχείῃ.

**366 (galeae) insonuit quae lapsa solo dextramque fefellit** cf. Hom. *Il.* 3 just quoted and in addition Hom. *Il.* 13.529 f. ἐκ δ' ἄρα χειρὸς/ αὐλῶπις τρυφάλεια χαμαὶ βόμβησε πεσοῦσα. Apparently the straps are broken, the helmet fell to the ground with a crash and slipped from his hand (hysteron proteron).

**367 clipei ... orbem** this seems to be the shield of Telamon (345), rather than the famous shield of Canthus himself, described in 1.452 ff.

It is as if the author misses an opportunity to increase the importance of the spoils.

**clipei septemplicis** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.925, Ov. *Am.* 1.7.7, *Met.* 13.2, Stat. *Theb.* 7.310 (with Smolenaars), after Hom. *Il.* 7. 245 Αἴαντος ... σάκος ἑπταβόειον and Soph. *Aias* 576. See also 349 with note. Originally probably also indebted to Verg. *A.* 10.783 f. *per orbem/ aere cavum triplici.*

**improbus** 'relentless', cf. Verg. *A.* 11.767 *et certam quatit improbus hastam.*

**368 arietat** trisyllabic, as in Verg. *A.* 11.890, Sil. 4.149.

**Canthum ... Canthumque** the repetition makes the line iconic for the corpse being dragged to and fro. The six words of the line seem to imitate Verg. *A.* 10.810 *sustinet et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur*, given that Gesander's story has Mezentius' as its subtext (see 293 nn.). Compare VF 3.153 f. *semineces. Glaucum sequitur Glaucumque ruentem / occupat*, equally based upon Vergil (Hudson-Williams 66 and Baehrens according to Hudson-Williams), but less successfully (Liberman 223). Stroh 61 noticed the resemblance to *Aeneid 10* without realizing the consequences with regard to the Mezentius story.

**Canthum sequitur** cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.504 *Nympha, precor, Penei, mane! non insequor hostis.*

**369 a tergo** may correspond to Hom. *Il.* 17.723 ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε λαὸς ὄπισθε, where the body of Patroclus is in a similar manner (nearly) saved. They get hold of the body *a tergo*, 'from behind' as in Caes. *Gal.* 7.87.4 *ab tergo hostes adoriri iubet*; it looks as if the Amazons come forward first as supporting troops with the aim of stealing away the body secretly at the moment when the men are engaged in fighting. Their more bellicose nature gets an opportunity in 370 ff. That *a tergo* simply means 'safe and sound behind their backs' cannot be excluded but seems less likely (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90.24 of a ship *additis a tergo gubernaculis ... exemplum a piscibus tractum est, qui cauda reguntur*).

**socium** archaic genitive; see 49 n.

**370 Euryales**, and **Menippe** (377) for a possible source of the names see Wijsman *ad* 5.612.

**curru** on the chariot of the Amazons see Wijsman *ad* 5.132.

*

370. advolat ipsa
371. ac simul Haemonidae Gesandrumque omnis in unum
372. it manus. ille novas acies et virginis arma
373. ut videt 'has etiam contra bellabimus?' inquit
374. 'heu pudor!' inde Lycen ferit ad confine papillae,
375. inde Thoen, qua pelta vacat iamque ibat in Harpen
376. vixdum prima levi ducentem cornua nervo
377. inque labantis equi tendentem frena Menippen,
378. cum regina gravem nodis auroque securem
379. congeminans partem capitis galeaeque ferinae
380. dissipat.

**370 advolat** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.511, 10.896 *advolat Aeneas* (against Mezentius). In 342 *advolat Idas.*

**371 Haemonidae** for 'Argonauts', only in VF; see 5.127 with Wijsman (also in 4.506).

**omnis in unum** the same words are found in Verg. *A.* 9.801 (against Turnus) *manus ... coit omnis in unum* (but *virtus coit omnis in unum* in *A.* 10.410); however, here they seem modelled upon Verg. *A.* 10.691 f. *concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,/ uni odiisque viro .... instant* (against Mezentius). Compare further Ov. *Met.* 3.647 (*uno*), 715 f. *ruit omnis in unum/ turba furens*, 8.112 f. *spes omnis in unum/ te mea*, Luc. 5.177 (*unam*), VF 6.439 (*una*), 684 f. *omnis in unum/ imber iit* (see n.), 5.68. Compare from prose Caes. *Gal.* 5.58.4 *unum omnes peterent Indutiomarum.* See further 380 n. (*in unum*).

**372 it manus** cf. *it globus* (381); for the force of *it* initially placed in the line see Skutsch[19] 591.

**373 has etiam contra bellabimus?** for the thought compare 5.544 f. *veniant super haec quoque fato/ bella meo. bellabimus* from **C** (*vet.cod.*) is obviously better than *bellavimus* **V+L**, since no battle has taken place. Kleywegt 1986:2469 refers to TLL 2.1819.49 which cites the combination *contra bellare* only from the Vulgate. Since Nepos *bellare adversus* is used, and *bellare cum* is very common.

---

[19] O. Skutsch, *The annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford, 1985.

**374 ff. Lycen, (Thoen ... Harpen)** Lyce, 'wolf ', also in Hor. *Carm.* 4.13, 3.10; Harpe, 'hawk ', a maenad in Non. *Dion.* 14.224; Thoe, 'the fast', in Hes. *Theog.* 354 and Hom. *Il.* 18.40 a sea-nymph.

**374 heu pudor** *'What a humiliation!'*; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.587 *isque pudor mansisset adhuc* (the Roman standards of Carrhae). Gesander will fall against *women.* One small comfort there is, though; see Ov. *Met.* 12.610 f. on Achilles, killed by the arrow of the Trojan adulterer: *at si femineo fuerat tibi Marte cadendum,/ Thermodontiaca malles cecidisse bipenni.*

**ferit ad confine papillae** in the spirit of VF's age barbarian cruelty is highlighted, but it is based upon Homer (of warriors) *Il.* 4.480 βάλε στῆθος παρὰ μαζόν = 8.121 = 15.577; cf. *Il.* 5.145, 11.108, 17.607, followed by Verg. *A.* 11.803 *hastam sub exertam papillam haesit* (Camilla's deadly wound; cf. 11.648 f. *Amazon/ ... Camilla*). *confine* is a very unusual substantive (TLL *s.v.*) only found in Luc. 6.649 *mundi confine latentis* and Stat. *Silv.* 5.274 *luxuriae confine tenens.*

**375 qua pelta vacat** cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.468 πλευρά, τά οἱ κύψαντι παρ' ἀσπίδος ἐξεφαάνθη. For *pelta* see Wijsman *ad* 5.135.

**ibat in Harpen** for *ire in* TLL 5.2.647.37 ff. gives the following parallels: Ov. *Met.* 5.668 *ibimus in poenas*, VF 3.187 *ibat in ictus.* Apparently *in* (aggressively) with a person is exceptional, as was *venire contra* in 216. See 216 n. on *tendere in.*

**376 levi ... nervo** a thin string.

**ducentem cornua** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.858 ff. *Threissa sagittam/ deprompsit pharetra cornuque infensa tetendit/ et duxit longe, donec curvata coirent/ inter se capita*; a quite clear exposition, but for VF possibly too rustic. Also in Verg. *A.* 9.623 f. *contendit telum diversaque bracchia ducens/ constitit.* — Although 'the tips of the bow' (Vergil's *capita)* for *prima cornua* cannot be excluded, the words probably stand for 'the first movements of handling the bow', there is no time to complete the aiming and shooting.

**377 inque labantis** ed.1503, 1523 (*fide* Giarratano); *in labentis* **V+L**; *et labentis* Heinsius. **C** (*vet.cod)* has *illabentis equi* (*illabi*, 'to sink down' with long *-a*), which is possible as long as the rest of the line, to provide a connector, is read as *tendentem frena et Henippen* **C**, although the postposition of *et* is peculiar. Vossius supported *inque labantis* (*labare* = 'to waver' with short -a). The obvious path of corruption seems to favour adopting it. Most editors have preferred *et labentis*, comparing Hor. *S.*

2.1.15 *aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi.* Bury and Giarratano printed *in labentis* (asyndetic), Kramer tentatively thought of *iam labentis.*

**tendentem frena** cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.2.72 *tende, precor, valida lora sinistra manu, Met.* 15.520 *lentas tendo resupinus habenas,* Stat. *Theb.* 11.452 *tendunt frena manu.*

**Menippe** a conjecture of Balbus (*fide* Burman) for *Enhippe* **V+L**, (*Henippe* **C**). Menippe seems a good conjecture, especially since VF could have derived the name from Hesiod's *Theogony* (Wijsman *ad* 5.612). Vossius proposed *Euhippe* (*fide* Burman), which could be based upon Greek names (Eu(h)ippe was mother to the Pieridae, mentioned in Ov. *Met.* 3.303; Euhippus is the name of a Trojan in Hom. *Il.* 16.417). However, *frena Euhippen* gives a *versus spondiacus*, which is unlikely to be correct.

**378 gravem nodis auroque securem** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.220 f. *nodisque gravatum / robur.*

**379 (securem) congeminans** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.696 ff. *perque ossa securim ... / ... / congeminant.*

**galeaeque ferinae** a helmet of fur, as in Hom. *Il.* 10.335 (and 458) where Dolon is wearing one made of the fur of a marten or polecat, or Grat. 340 *canaque e maele galeri*, badger fur amongst the *arma* of a hunter. See 227 n.

**380 (partem capitis) dissipat** cf. Luc. 3.473 *(saxum) totos cum sanguine dissipat artus*, 6.176 ff. *(Scaeva) caput obterit ossaque saxo ac ... cerebrum dissipat*, Sil. 1.402 *(gladio) crepitantia dissipat ossa.*

*

hinc pariter telorum immanis in unum
it globus. ille diu coniectis sufficit hastis
— quin gravior nutuque carens exterruit Idan —,
tunc ruit ut montis latus aut ut machina muri,
quae scopulis trabibusque diu confectaque flammis
procubuit tandem atque ingentem propulit urbem.

**380 hinc** Thilo (*"fortasse"*), followed by Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Mozley. *hic* Mss. is printed by Bury, Giarratano, Kramer, Courtney and Ehlers.

**in unum** the repetition of *in unum* (371) and *it* (372) must indicate that for a moment Gesander could on his own stem the Amazonian host;

but now their queen has joined the struggle, the hail of arrows from the Amazons wins the upper hand. *pariter* implies 'together with the axe' as well as 'just as before', and in addition (of the arrows) 'going in a coordinated way'. He is doomed. Inspiration may have come from the anaphora of *uni* in Verg. *A.* 10.191 f. quoted in 371 n.

**381 (telorum) globus** see 299 n. *it globus* seems an echo of *it manus* (372), see preceding note.

**coniectis ... hastis** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.711 *coniectis ... hastis*, Sil. 4.346 *coniecta ... hasta*, VF 6.270 f. *hastas/ coniciunt.*

**sufficit hastis** cf. Luc. 7.368 *Caesar nostris non sufficit armis*, Verg. *A.* 9.810 f. *nec sufficit umbo/ ictibus*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.2.13 *sufficitque malis animus.*

**382 quin** many conjectures have been proposed for *quin etiam* **V+L**, *quis* Pius, *quis iam iam gravior nutansque* Baehrens (+Mozley), *cadens* ed. 1523, *motuque carens* Schenkl and Langen. *etiam* was already removed, as an unmetrical gloss on *quin* in the *Ed. Princ.* Heinsius proposed *quis (=quibus) gravior* which certainly reads well, but does not solve the riddle of *gravior.* Leo 970 defended *etiam* if followed by a lacuna for which he suggested a supplement. I feel the text of the Mss. (with the omission of *etiam)* can be understood: 'yes, and he was already heavy with arrows but even so, though unable to bend down, he was <still> a terror to Idas'.

**gravior** see 65 n.

**nutuque carens V,L,C**, *motuque* Schenkl, Langen, *nutansque* Baehrens, Mozley. By now Gesander lacks the ability to bow the head when a weapon threatens to strike; for *nutu* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.771 f. *interdum nutu capitisque citati/ integer obsequio, manibus nunc obvia tela/ discutiens*, Lucr. 3.466 *aeternumque soporem oculis nutuque cadenti.*

**Idan** not until Leo 1897:970 was *Idam* Mss. corrected, this in spite of *Aenean* (not *-am*) being the only accusative in the *Aeneid* (compare the astute view of Housman, 1910): cf. Verg. *A.* 9.575 *stantem pro turribus Idan/.* In ARh Idas is one of the most fearful heroes who once in Aea refuses to invoke the assistance of Venus, relying rather on Mars (3.555-563). Even Idas is terrified; he was already concerned in 342 *trepidus super advolat Idas.*

**383 tunc ruit** the image is taken up by Statius in *Theb.* 9.554 f. *(Hypseus) ruit haud alio quam celsa fragore/ turris.* Both have as their model Verg. *A.* 9.708 *conlapsa ruunt immania membra*; then the simile fol-

lows of boulders being deposited in the sea, faithfully copied by Sil. 4.295 ff. VF makes a comparison with the side of a mountain falling down, *or* a piece of a wall; Statius prefers the crash of a high tower. The various aspects of this simile have been amply discussed by Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.744-751. *tunc ruit* may be modelled upon *cum ruit* in Verg. *A.* 12.685 referring to Turnus, because there the context is similar: *ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps/ cum ruit avulsum vento, ... fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu*, even though in the sequel *ruit* is picked up with a slightly different connotation by *sic urbis ruit ad muros.*

**ut montis latus** the model for Statius in *Theb.* 7.744 *nubiferum montis latus*; probably ultimately based upon Hom. *Il.* 16.390 πολλὰς δὲ κλιτῦς τότ' ἀποτμήγουσι χαράδραι (where it is not quite clear whether horses are described as falling in the moat — more appropriate to lines a little before -, or escaping in a great hurry, as did Hector's) and *Il.* 4.462 ἤριπε δ' ὡς ... πύργος.

A big boulder rolling down (destructively) from a mountain is described in *Il.* 13.137 ff. Luc. 3.470 ff. seems based upon this model: *qualis rupes, quam vertice montis/ abscidit ... vetustas, / frangit cuncta ruens* ..., and the picture of the sliding side of the mountain does not seem to be used elsewhere for a falling warrior. In Sil. 4.522 a torrent from the top of the Pindus *avulsum montis volvit latus.* The scene may have influenced Sil. 4.293 ff. where the Gaul *procumbit lata porrectus in arva ruina*, followed by *haud aliter, structo Tyrrhena ad litora saxo ... caerula ... accipiunt ... sub aequora montem.* As explained in the former note Verg. *A.* 12.684 ff. may have been the model for the mountain crag tumbling down. Slightly before those lines, in *A.* 12.672 ff., there is a tower on fire, although its falling down is not mentioned; this may have been the inspiration for the *machina muri.*

**ut machina muri** may have its model in Verg. *A.* 4.88 f. *minaeque/ murorum ingentes, aequataque machina caelo*, where *minae* is explained as 'threatening walls' or alternatively as 'merlons', which, according to Page, do not mutually exclude each other. *machina* is in the *Aeneid* otherwise only used for the Wooden Horse. (To what extent may Verg. *A.* 2.237 *scandit fatalis machina muros* have played a rôle in the word sequence?). Langen, supported by Shelton 360, seems to conceive of *machina muri* as a *propugnaculum*, that, once toppled, crushes its own city. In the Vergilian tradition, again there is controversy: Page is quite definite in his interpretation of *machina* as 'crane', Austin and Williams opt for 'fabric', but refer to VF 6.383 for (nearly the

only) support, which makes the argumentation circular[20]. I feel that the standard meaning of *machina* will do here: outside the walls an enormous siege-engine has been erected (like the contractor's crane in Carthage Verg. *A.* 4.89, where it cannot be a siege-engine). The engine is fired at by stones, blocks of wood, flames, but in its fall crushes a part of the city. VF lets slip the opportunity to mention all the harm Gesander could have done in his fall, as in Verg. *A.* 9.540 f. *pondere turris/ procubuit subito*, *A.* 2.465 ff. *(turris) lapsa repente ruinam/ cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late/ incidit*, or Stat. *Theb.* 9.554 ff. *ruit haud alio quam celsa fragore/ turris ... labitur*, where Dewar thinks the present simile was the model. There may have been inspiration by Hom. *Il.* 4.462 ἤριπε δ' ὡς ... πύργος; compare Stat. *Theb.* 3.355 f. *me .../ ceu turrem ... viri ... clausere*, 9.146 f. *formidatique superbis/ turribus impulsus temptato umbone redissent).*

**384 scopulis trabibusque** 'by throwing pieces of stone and wood'. *trabibus* may have been originally inspired by Verg. *A.* 12.674 *turrim compactis trabibus* where the beams of the structure are meant.

**confectaque flammis** according to TLL 4.203.41 f. the combination is unique; often a person is consumed by old age, sorrows, hunger, etc. The subject matter is probably based upon Verg. *A.* 12.672 f. *flammis ... volutus ... vertex turrim ... tenebat.*

**385 procubuit tandem** *procubuit* beginning the hexameter five times in the *Aeneid*, six times in Ov. *Met.*, twice in Luc., twice in Silius, one of these 5.507 *procubuit tandem* (an oak).

**tandem** dramatically Pius for illogical *tamen* **V+L**.

**propulit L**, *protulit* **V**, *prodidit* Gronovius, Ph.Wagner, *perculit* Baehrens, *proruit* Burman; cf. Sen. *Her.O.* 162 *muros Oechaliae corpore propulit*, Sil. 7.101 f. *propellite vallum pectoribus.* — An example of a *turris* falling in Verg. *A.* 9.530 ff. *turris erat ....* The word *protulit* was printed by Bury, Kramer, Courtney, *propulit* by Thilo, Schenkl, Langen, Giarratano, Mozley, Ehlers. To my mind the latter reading gives better sense.

---

[20] Also OLD prefers to think of the wall's 'fabric', as in Luc. 1.80 *machina ... mundi*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.211. Mozley speaks of 'masonry', much as in *A.* 9.561 f. Turnus grasps Lycus and *magna muri cum parte revellit.*

*

Ecce locum tempusque ratus iamque et sua posci
proelia falcatos infert Ariasmenus axes
saevaque diffundit socium iuga protinus omnes
Graiugenas, omnes rapturus ab agmine Colchos.
qualiter exosus Pyrrhae genus aequora rursus
Iuppiter atque omnes fluvium si fundat habenas
ardua Parnasi lateant iuga, cesserit Othrys
piniger et mersis decrescant rupibus Alpes:
diluvio tali paribusque Ariasmenus urget
excidiis nullo rapiens discrimine currus.

B.5. *386-426. Ariasmenus scene.*

The theme of an enemy destroying itself is also found in the story of the earthborn men (7.607 ff.) grown from dragon's teeth, and possibly the present move of Ariasmenus is pointing forward to Jason's exploits.
The same motif of terrifying the horses and directing the agony towards the home side is used in Luc. 7.568 ff. *veluti ... / Bistonas aut Mavors agitans, si verbere saevo / Palladio stimulet turbatos aegide currus* (about the battle of Pharsalus), as well as Stat. *Theb.* 6.491 ff. (about a horse race), where Phoebus with the aid of an *anguicoma monstri effigies* terrifies the horses of Polynices, *turbasset euntes / Solis equos Martisque iugum* (500 f.). Polynices is flung from the chariot. — The fact that Statius here make use of a fantastic 'ghost' with snake tresses is a strong argument for the priority of Valerius Flaccus, in whose story the same tresses are a firm part of the lore around the Gorgon's head. Pallas lifting up the aegis recalls Hom. *Il.* 15.318-322, where Apollo with the aegis makes the Greeks flinch from the battle; the motif also in Sil. 9.460 ff. (464 *aegide commota*).

**386** 'Thinking that it was the right time and place and that now it was the time that also the kind of warfare he was expert in was demanded, Ariasmenus brought in ...'
*iamque* introduces difficulties, since it is not exactly clear what *-que* is connecting. Construe *ratus locum et tempus esse* as well as *et iam posci etiam* ***sua*** *proelia.*

Compare VF 1.543 *et poscunt iam me sua tempora Grai*, 'the Greeks are demanding of me <to begin> the Greek Era'.

**ecce** there is not much to add to Austin *ad* Verg. *A.* 2.57.

**locum tempusque ratus** cf. 3.249 f. *tempus .../ flectere fata ratus*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.492 f. *tandem ratus apta favori/ tempora.*

**387 falcatos ... axes** chariots with sickle blades (see also 105 n.), as used in the East as well as in Britain: Caes. *Gal.* 3.14.5, *B.Alex.* 75.2 *falcatae regiae quadrigae permixtos milites perturbabant* (of king Pharnaces), Curt. 4.9.4 *ducentae falcatae quadrigae* (of Darius), Mela 3.52 *<Britanni> dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallice armatis (covinnos vocant), quorum falcatis axibus utuntur.* Livy describes a situation very similar to the present one: Liv. 37.41.5 *falcatae quoque quadrigae, quibus se perturbaturum hostium aciem Antiochus crediderat, in suos terrorem verterunt.* A description follows of how Eumenes frightened the horses and chased them away.

**Ariasmenus** see 103. He is killed in 426.

**388 diffundit** cf. VF 6.56 *rutilas ... diffuderis alas.*

**389 Graiugenas** an epic word, used in Verg. *A.* 3.550, 8.127, and VF 2.557 (with Poortvliet); see also 5.223, 5.584 (with Wijsman).

**ab agmine V+L**, *acumine* Delz 1975 (should have been *Delz 1* in Ehlers). The conjecture of Delz, preferred by Ehlers, makes excellent sense, occurs in the same fifth position of the hexameter in several places (*e.g.*, Ov. *Met.* 2.376, 3.84, 4.580, 8.354, 12.84, 12.337, 13.778, 14.503) and could be right. However, *agmen* of the foreign battle-array does well enough ('with intent to pluck out all Greeks, all Colchians from their ranks'). For *agmen* compare Sil. 5.377 f. *ex agmine Poenum/ cedentem ... speculatus*, VF 3.259, 3.619 *(de agmine)*, 5.353, 7.559 *(ex agmine).*

**390 qualiter** the relative clause followed by *si* is remarkable: 'in the same way that, if Jupiter were to loosen the restraints of sea and rivers, the heights of Parnassus, Othrys and the Alps would disappear, in *that* way Ariasmenus rages'. Model for the simile is Hom. *Il.* 16.384-393 where horses are fleeing in the way that Zeus brings down torrents. In Luc. 5.620 ff., following the raging of the several winds, the seas take possession of the land and rise up to the skies. The contest of these winds has been referred to already in 353 ff.

**exosus (Iuppiter)** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.687 f. *Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum/ Troianas, ....*

**Pyrrhae** *Pyrrha* is Deucalion's wife and mother of mankind by having thrown stones, *lapides Pyrrhae iactos* (Verg. *Ecl.* 6.41). The story is in Ov. *Met.* 1.313-415; cf. Juv. 15.30 *a Pyrrha ... omnia*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.5 f. *grave ne rediret/ saeculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.305 *Pyrrhaeaque saxa.*

**391 si fundat habenas** Langen supposed that *fundere* is here short for *effundere.* There is indeed a small number of examples of *effundere habenas*: Verg. *A.* 5.818, 12.499, Stat. *Theb.* 9.182 *seu frena effunderet*, Sil. 1.161 *effusis ... habenis.* Compare also Liv. 25.41.2 *effusis equis advolant.* TLL 6.1.1568.26 ff. mentions only two other examples of *fundere habenas*, Sil. 4.137 and 13.172 *fusis instabat habenas.*

**392 ardua ... iuga** the line recalls Verg. *Ecl.* 10.11 *nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi*, not only because of the *Parnasi iuga*, but also because of the second mountain at the end of the line. *iuga*, 'hills' is used too soon after *iuga*, 'chariots' (388).

**Parnasi** the gable-topped (Ov. *Met.* 1.316, 2.221) mountain near Delphi. Why this sequence, Parnassus, Othrys, Alps? It 'brings the point home', Pyrrha living near Parnassus; from there northward Othrys is the next mountain of some importance, and in that direction one eventually meets the Alps, possibly mentioned because of their enormous height as well as their relevance to Italy.

**cesserit Othrys** probably for *recesserit.* In that case it is a clear instance of the phenomenon discussed by Kleywegt 2464 f. of reversal of movements: a coast that comes nearer, or disappears for view, countries coming closer, lands that travel along the ship. Here the Othrys is flooded and becomes less high, and as the waters come higher, the Othrys more or less 'recedes'. *Othrys* is the mountain to the south of Thessaly, mentioned in the context of Centaurs by Verg. *A.* 7.675 *Othrymque nivalem* (with Stat. *Theb.* 3.318) and Ov. *Met.* 12.512 f. *parvoque in tempore nudus/ arboris Othrys erat*, as well as by Sen. *Her.O.* 1139 f. *(Thessalica ... iuga)/... Othrys*, Luc. 6.338 *nemorosus ... Othrys*, Plin. *Nat.* 4.30 *Pindus et Othrys Lapitharum sedes*, and VF. 1.24 where in 22 *Haemonia* stands for Thessaly. Statius in *Theb.* 4.655 seems to locate the mountain in Thrace. See below on the Alps.

**393 piniger** on adjectives ending in *-ger* see Korn *ad* 4.139 with the complete list of *-fer* and *-ger* and Wijsman *ad* 5.137. The other example of one in *-ger* in Book 6 is 694 *armiger* (see note). On the use of ad-

jectives on *-fer* see 138 n. The idea for *piniger* (used in Ov. *Fast.* 3.84) may have come from *pinifer ... (Maenalus)* in Verg. *Ecl.* 10.14, a few lines below the line quoted above. The adjective is also used by Statius (*Theb.* 7.97, 7.272, 12.225).

**decrescant ... Alpes** the Alps become less high above water level; as in Aus. *Mos.* 146 f. *exclusum exundat mare magnaque surgunt / aequora vicinique timent decrescere montes.* The reverse is true in Stat. *Theb.* 5.709 *montesque et litora crescunt* (the sea retreats again after the winds had caused the waters to surge up).

**394 diluvio** Vergilian (after Varro?) *diluvium* = Lucretian *diluvies. diluvium* occurs, *e.g.*, in Verg. *A.* 12.205 (figuratively) and applied to Deucalion's flood in Ov. *Met.* 1.434, Mela 1.64 *est Iope ante diluvium, ut ferunt, condita*, Apul. *Apol.* 41. Shelton 362 observes that in the simile several terms apply to the compared situation: 388 *diffundit socium iuga*, where *diffundere* can mean 'to disperse' as well as 'to flood' (compare *diluvio)*, the *iuga* recur in *iuga Parnasi*, the *falcatos ... axes* (387) have much in common with 391 *si fundat habenas*, because elsewhere *habenae* = *equi* = 'chariot'. The simile is in addition intensified because of the possibility of the great flood occurring again.

**395 rapiens** on the frequent use of *rapere* with various objects see Wijsman *ad* VF 5.41.

*

396. aegida tum primum virgo spiramque Medusae
397. ter centum saevis squalentem sustulit hydris,
398. quam soli vidistis, equi. Pavor occupat ingens
399. excussis in terga viris diramque retorquent
400. in socios non sponte luem, tunc ensibus uncis
401. implicat et trepidos lacerat Discordia currus.

**396 aegida** in 176/177 it was not yet the right time to display the aegis, adorned with the Gorgo's head; but now (Shelton 363) the decisive point is reached, from here on the Argonauts will have the ascendancy. — Displaying the aegis (see on *aegis* Wijsman *ad* VF 5.652) is an Iliadic theme, witness 4.166 f. and 17.593 (the aegis of Jupiter) or Apollo at work in 15.229 and in particular 15.320 ff., where the Greeks flee from its effects. The present scene has as its model *Il.* 18.202 ff., where Pallas adorns Achilles with her aegis; he shows himself without

armour, and his shouting alone is sufficient to repel the opponents. Twelve Trojans find death under their own chariots (231 ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι). The aegis also occurs in *Od.* 22.297 f. (Pallas against the suitors), Luc. 7.570 *Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus* and Sil. 9.464 (Pallas against Mars).

**spiramque** 'coils, whirls', also said of Tisiphone's 'hair' in 4.393, quite appropriate in view of its use for snakes (Verg. *G.* 2.154, *A.* 2.217, Ov. *Met.* 3.77).

**Medusae** the story can be found in Ov. *Met.* 4.772-803 how the comely hairs of Medusa, one of the three Gorgons, daughters of Phorcys, were changed into snakes by Minerva to punish Neptune for ravishing Medusa in Minerva's temple.

**397 ter centum** the number three has an esoteric function, as it has in Verg. *A.* 6.506 *magna manis ter voce vocari*, Tib. 1.2.54 *ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus*, Prop. 4.8.86 *terque meum tetigit sulpuris igne caput*, VF 1.193 *ipse ter aequoreo libans carchesia patri*, Ap. *Met.* 11.29 *cogor tertiam quoque teletam sustinere.*

**squalentem ... hydris** *squalere*, 'to be covered with scales', as in reptiles (Verg. *G.* 4.13, Sil. 2.547, 13.643), or figuratively (Verg. *A.* 10.314, 12.87, VF 6.525, Stat. *Ach.* 1.432). In VF 6.175 the snakes were *colubri*. *hydri* are mentioned in Verg. *G.* 3.545, Ov. *Met.* 4.801 *(sc. Minerva) Gorgoneum crinem turpes mutavit in hydros*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.494 *ora reducentem premit adstridentibus hydris (Tisiphone)*, Juv. 7.70 (the same).

**398 quam soli vidistis** Langen: if the charioteers had seen the aegis as well they would have turned their backs immediately, thus robbing the victors of their *gloria*. In 396 n. other applications of the *aegis* theme (386-427), to be read together with Liv. 37.41.5 (387 n.).

**pavor occupat ingens <sc. equos>** cf. Pl. *Rud.* 686 *metus membra occupat*, Verg. *A.* 7.446 *tremor occupat artus*, Ov. *Met.* 12.135 *pavor occupat illum*, 14.198 *me luridus occupat horror.*

**399 excussis in terga viris** cf. Liv. 8.7.10 *equus ... excussit equitem*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.65.5 *excussis rectoribus*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.789 *in terga supinat.*

**diram (... luem)** cf. (TLL 5.1.1273.65 ff.) Ov. *Met.* 7.523 and 15.626 about epidemic diseases, VF 2.291 *pro dira lues* (the Lemnian episode), Stat. *Theb.* 1.601 (= Tisiphone), Sil. 5.623, 12.385, 16.622.

**retorquent** Columbus, for *retorquet* Mss. (sc. *pavor*), because *non sponte* seems only to apply to the drivers wreaking havoc upon their

comrades, *in socios*. The scene of self-destruction can be compared to Stat. *Theb.* 10.741 *proculcantes moderantum funera currus. retorquent* ends the hexameter also in Stat. *Theb.* 9.707 *intentaque tela retorquent.*

**400 ensibus uncis** *uncus*, that is, *falcatus*. According to TLL 5.2.610.51 this is the only instance of this combination.

**401 (ensibus uncis) implicat** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.527 f. *et enses/ impliciti innexaeque manus* (the brothers' duel), Luc. 3.695 f. (in a similar gruesome battle) *implicitis gaudent subsidere membris/ mergentesque mori.* See also *implicitos* 418, 707 *implicat arcu.*

**trepidos lacerat Discordia currus** the personified *Discordia* should preferably be spelled with a capital; the combination with the metonymy *trepidos currus* (for the charioteers) produces an instance of refined diction. Pavor and Discordia are fitting companions for Mars; cf. 2.204 f. *adcelerat Pavor et Geticis Discordia demens/ e stabulis*, Hom. *Il.* 4.440 Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις. *Discordia demens* is sitting in the porch of Hell in Verg. *A.* 6.273 ff., and in the company of Mars, Dirae and Bellona in *A.* 8.702. *geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum* is in the retinue of Mars in Stat. *Theb.* 7.50, and *Discordia taetra* figures also in Enn. *Ann.* S 225 = V 266 and Hor. *S.* 1.4.60. Discordia plays a rôle in the Lemnian confict in Stat. *Theb.* 5.74, 2.288.

*

402. Romanas veluti saevissima cum legiones
403. Tisiphone regesque movet, quorum agmina pilis,
404. quorum aquilis utrimque micant eademque parentes
405. rura colunt, idem lectos ex omnibus agris
406. miserat infelix non haec ad proelia Thybris:
407. sic modo concordes externaque fata petentes
408. Palladii rapuere metus, sic in sua versi
409. funera concurrunt dominis revocantibus axes.

**402-409** an original simile comparing the scythe-bearing chariots destroying their own side to the Roman arms turning to self-destruction in civil war. In view of the allusions to the *Pharsalia* I rather think of the strife beween Caesar and Pompey than of the year of four emperors. In the opening of Lucan's epic we find: 3 *(populum) in sua ... conversum viscera*, 4 *rupta foedera regni* (=the triumvirate), 6 f. *infestisque obvia signis/ signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*, to be compared to VF's 409 *in sua versi/*

*funera*, 403 *regesque*, 403 f. *quorum agmina pilis, quorum aquilis utrimque micant.* With *eademque parentes/ rura colunt* (404 f.) compare Luc. 4.563 *fratribus incurrunt fratres natusque parenti*, or 4.177 *vocat ille propinquum* near Ilerda, Stat. *Theb.* 7.467 f. *fratrem huic, fratrem ingerit illi/ aut utrique patrem.* The simile may derive traits from the description of Eris in Hom. *Il.* 11.5, 11.73 enjoying the strife.

**403** Tisiphone appears in VF in the Lemnian episode, the battle at Cyzicus, and in the story of Io, robbing people of their reason and provoking aggression. Sane people won't start a civil war. In the *Pharsalia* the *civilis Erinys* figures in 4.187 and she is surrounding Rome in 1.572. In Verg. *A.* 10.761 *Tisiphone media inter milia saevit.*

**regesque** the word *reges* elsewhere refers to the Argonauts or to auxiliary kings and kinglets (5.273, 5.464, 6.172, 6.415). Burman, however, rather believed that the leaders in the conflict between Caesar and Pompey are meant (based upon the imitation already mentioned), which he preferred to the opinion of Casaubon, who thought of Vespasian and his competitors. Since *quorum* can refer to the legions instead of the 'kings', I prefer to think of allied princes. In the *Pharsalia* foreign kings abound (3.287 f. *unum/ tot reges habuere ducem*, 2.294), in particular in the retinue of Pompey (2.636 f., 4.234, Books 7 and 8 *passim*).

**404 aquilis** the standards, as in Tac. *Ann.* 15.17.1 *respondit: converterent aquilas.*

**utrimque** a word typical of the civil war situation, in the context of which it is used in Tac. *Hist.* 1.74.1 (Vitellius and Otho), 2.21.4 *utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria*, Luc. 7.385 (at Pharsalus).

**parentes** after the repeated *quorum*, a third *quorum* is understood by Burman, who changed *parentis* Mss. It is in fact more logical to suppose that the parents of the soldiers are tilling the land than the soldiers the land of their father — they won't be given leave to do so! *parentes* is printed by Ehlers, Courtney, Mozley, Kramer, Baehrens, *parentis* by Giarratano, Bury, Langen, Schenkl, Thilo. War against brothers and fathers is frequently mentioned in the *Pharsalia*: 7.464 f. *videre parentum frontibus adversis fraternaque comminus arma* (*parentum* Housman, *parentes* Mss.), 7.550 *ille locus fratres habuit, locus ille parentes*, 7.626 f. *quis pectora fratris/ caedat.* — Note the careful balance of the two pairs of asyndetic clauses with anaphora, *quorum ... quorum, eadem ... idem*; both carry the characteristically Roman equipment (*pilis, aquilis*), both have the same origins (*rura, Thybris*).

**405 lectos** 'the pick of ...', frequently with cattle and sheep (unblemished sacrificial victims) as in 559 *lecta corpora boum*; in the *Aeneid* with *duces, viri, iuvenes.* Substantival use is unusual; cf. Sil. 11.203 ff. *Poenus ... accersere lectos ... Decium iubet.* However, in the present situation I prefer to think of the use of a *simplex pro composito* for *delectos, 'levied, enrolled'*, as in Luc. 7.270 f., *Grais delecta iuventus/ gymnasiis*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.5.3 *praetoriae cohortes Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae aut vetere Latio.*

**406 miserat** for *miserat* in catalogues see 42 n.

**infelix** cf., in the context of civil war, Luc. 7.216 f. *stetit ordine certo/ infelix acies*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.71.2 *pro Othone fides integra et infelix*, 3.34.1 *<Cremona> bellis externis intacta, civilibus infelix.*

**non haec ad proelia** cf. Verg. *A.* 4.647 *non hos quaesitum munus in usus*, VF 7.89 *non ... hos reditus.*

**Thybris** the word is archaic according to Plin. *Nat.* 3.53 *Tiberis, antea Thybris appellatus*, and stands here for 'Rome' and its neighbourhood, as in Luc. 6.810 in the context of civil war. *Thybris* was used by Vergil in *A.* 3.500, 8.331.

**407** 'in the same way fear of Pallas seizes those that were a moment ago of one mind and ready to undergo trials in wars against foreign people, in the same way now drawn to mutual killing they make battle while the masters <are trying to> call the chariots back'.

**concordes** cf. Luc. 1.87 *o male concordes nimiaque cupidine caeci*, or even Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.19 *rerum concordia discors.*

**externaque fata** *externus* for 'alien', as in Caes. *Civ.* 2.5.5 *externis auxiliis*, or Tac. *Hist.* 3.34.1 *<Cremona> bellis externis intacta.* Enemies *should not* be from one's own country.

**408 Palladii** rather frequent, often referring to the crafts of Pallas, as builder of the Wooden Horse or the Argo, or to her *aegis* as in Luc. 7.570 quoted *ad* 386-427.

**409 (in sua) versi/ funera** cf. Luc. 1.3 *in sua victrici conversum viscera dextra*, 7.531 *in sua conversis praeceps ruit agmina frenis.*

**dominis revocantibus** Langen makes a point that the charioteers are only *trying* to bring the horses under control again, but the present tense normally has this connotation so that it need not be emphasized.

*

non tam foeda virum Laurentibus agmina terris
eiecere Noti, Libyco nec talis imago
litore cum fractas involvunt aequore puppes.
hinc biiuges, illinc artus tenduntur eriles
quos radii, quos frena secant trahiturque trahitque
currus caede madens atroque in pulvere regum
viscera nunc aliis, aliis nunc curribus haerent.

**410-412** Simile of the castaways. In Luc. 1.498 ff. a ship is driven by the Auster upon the Libyan coast and is broken into pieces. The location, however, is the only point in common. When Cato's troops are marching along the Syrtes the point is brought up again in 9.443 f. *sic cum tot commercia mundo/ naufragiis Nasamones habent.* VF adds some allusions to the victims of the sea in Vergil (see below), who form the model.

**410 Laurentibus ... terris** apparently a dative of direction, virtually unique with *eicere* (TLL *s.v.*). Laurentum is situated on the Latian coast and the adjective *Laurens* visualises the scene by locating it in Italy. *Laurens* is used as a synonym of 'Italian' in Sil. 3.83 = 8.598 *Laurentia bella,* Sil. 1.669, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.163. The word is used in Verg. *A.* 5.796 f. (Venus speaking to Neptune) *quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas/ vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim.* Shortly hereafter Aeneas in fact reaches the Tiber, but not Misenus, who is found on the beach in *A.* 6.163, nor Palinurus, lost in the lines following 5.796 and telling the sad story of a castaway in 337 ff., with 6.355 f. *tris Notus ... vexit me.* As a more direct subtext Ov. *Fast.* 3.599 *ducitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus* could be considered, about the Carthaginian princess Anna, itself the model for Sil. 8.65 ff. where she becomes shipwrecked *in Laurentes oras* (*Sidonis in Latia trepidabat naufraga terra*). Allusions to the *Fasti* are exceptional and consist primarily of verbal resemblances (200, 393, 520, 624). However, in Verg. *A.* 6.333-336 shipmates wrecked on the Libyan coast are mentioned just before Aeneas meets with Palinurus. The present combination of Italy and Africa seems derived from that passage, the more so in view of the verbal resemblance in *A.* 6.336 *obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque* (cf. *Arg.* 6.412).

**411 eiecere Noti** *eicere* is the regular word for castaways, as in (TLL 5.2.303.52 ff.) Pl. *Rud.* 73 *sedent eiecti: navis confracta eis,* Ter. *An.* 923 *Atticus quidam olim navi fracta ad Andrum eiectus est,* Cic. *S.Rosc.* 72 *quid tam*

*est commune ... quam ... litus eiecti?*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.24.2 *pars navium haustae sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas eiectae*, Catul. 68.3 *naufragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis*, Verg. *A.* 4.373 f. *eiectum litore, egentem excepi.* They have been described in the simile of Hom. *Od.* 23.234 ff. where the land is as welcome to castaways as their reunion was to Odysseus and Penelope. Notus is the culprit also in Ov. *Fast.* 3.588 *percutitur rapido puppis ... Noto.*

**Libyco ... (litore)** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.377 *Libycis ... oris* (about Aeneas), 4.106 *Libycas ... oras*, Ov. *Rem.* 797, *Met.* 14.77, *Fast.* 3.631 (in the story of Anna; see above), 4.379, *Tr.* 1.3.19, Luc. 4.611 (cf. 9.119). There may also be a suggestion of Verg. *A.* 1.538 *huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.*

**imago** only at the end of the line: ten times in VF, 25 times in Vergil. In the present sense of 'representation, scene' also in 659 *praesentis imagine pugnae*; cf. in the context of combat and destruction Verg. *A.* 2.369 *plurima mortis imago*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.23 *nihil est nisi mortis imago*, Sil. 14.617 *eadem leti versatur imago*, 16.70 f. *sed poenae tristis imago / illa erat.*

**412 fractas involvunt aequore puppes** *involvunt*, 'to overwhelm, to engulf', as in Verg. *A.* 6.335 f. *quos ... per aequora vectos / obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque*, Luc. 7.89 *involvat populos una fortuna ruina*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.323 *ponto miseros involvere nautas*, Sil. 3.212 *involves bello Italiam*, 6.143 *et stagnante vado patulos involvere campos*, 12.621 *campos spumantibus undis / involvit*, Avien. *Arat.* 420 *(ut ...) et vaga caeruleas involvant aequora puppes.* The *Noti* are subject of *involvunt*; in view of the many examples of *involvere* going with an ablative (in particular Verg. *A.* 6.336 just quoted and discussed in 410 n.) I do not think there is any need to replace *aequore* Mss. by *aequora* (*ed. princ.*), even if all recent editors have printed *aequora*. For *fractas* compare Luc. 1.500 *fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali.*

**413 - 416** For the scene compare Stat. *Theb.* 7.760 ff. where the horses of Amphiaraus draw the wheels over corpses, some only half-dead *et iam cornipedes trepidi ac moribunda reflantes /* 761 *corpora rimantur terras, omnisque per artus /* 762 *sulcus et incisis altum rubet orbita membris. /* 763 *hos iam ignorantes terit impius axis, at illi /* 764 *vulnere semineces — nec devitare facultas- /* 765 *venenum super ora vident; iam lubrica tabo /* 766 *frena, nec insisti madidus dat temo, rotaeque /* 767 *sanguine difficiles, et tardior ungula fossis /* 768 *visceribus: tunc ipse furens ...* and Verg. *A.* 12.329 f. (about Turnus) *agmina curru / proterit*, 338 ff. *miserabile caesis / hostibus insultans; spargit rapida ungula rores / sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena.*

**413 hinc ... illinc** see Wijsman *ad* 5.284 and 171 n.

**biiuges** of the horses, as in VF 2.566 *crastina lux biiuges stabulis ostendat apertis*, Verg. *A.* 10.587 *admonuit biiugos*, 10.595 *arripuit biiugos*; the same is expressed in Verg. *A.* 7.280 *geminosque iugales.* The adjective (either going with *artus* or substantivally as a counterpart to *artus eriles*) can have the form *biiugis* (in most authors, in VF here and in 2.566, twice in Vergil, *G.* 3.91, *A.* 12.355) as well as *biiugus* (VF 7.218), seven times in Vergil, also in Lucretius.

**tenduntur** Mss.; *tondentur* Schenkl, *sternuntur* Schenkl, *cernuntur* Baehrens, Bury, *funduntur* Fr.Reuss. *tendi* has the sense of 'stretching out', 'laying down', as in 4.320 *tenditur ille ingens hominum pavor* (=Amycus), 6.716 *hiems nigraque evulsam <oleam> tendit harena*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.12 f. *quantus Apollineae temerator matris Averno / tenditur.*

**eriles** see 108 n.

**414 quos radii, quos frena secant** the Aldine edition (1523) conjectured *ferra*, while Heinsius opted for *temo secat*; the wheels run over the bodies, not the reins. On the other hand the conjecture stands *pars pro toto* for the whole chariot, and so does *frena*. There is no need for change: 'those that are run over by the wheels, yes, by the whole chariot'. In Hom. *Il.* 11.534-537 = 20.499-502 blood bespatters the axes and the chariot, blood generated by horses and wheels; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.329 f. *agmina curru proterit*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.761 f. *omnisque per artus / sulcus et incisis altum rubet orbita membris*, Sil. 13.833 *virgo (Tullia) patrios fregit quae curribus artus.* — *tela necant* Frieseman seems too much of a 'normalisation'. See also 195 n.

**trahiturque trahitque** the same line-ending occurs in 7.594, where Stadler comments: "ohne Bezug zwischen beiden Stellen". Langen gives a list of similar combinations of verbs: *fertque refertque* (Verg. *A.* 4.438, 12.866), *trahunt retrahuntque* (Verg. *A.* 5.709), *fugit refugitque* (Verg. *A.* 12.753), *redit itque* (Ov. *Met.* 2.409), *itque reditque* (Tib. 2.6.46), *refluitque fluitque* (*Met.* 8.163).

**-que ... -que** see 6.21 n.

**415 currus** see Wijsman *ad* 5.5 on the relatively scarce phenomenon of a spondaic word in the first foot (see also 5 n.), isolating the relevant word from the rest of the line. In 415 alliteration links *currus* to *caede*, while in this way *currus* is given focus. Other instances occur in lines 467, 559, 652. In 467 *sensit diva dolos* there is emphasis again; in 559 *centum lecta boum*, there is a strong feeling of **<mind!>**, while in 652

*praeceps ille ruit* Colaxes, the last hero of the Scythian party to be mentioned, is killed by Jason, who thus leaves the scene.

**caede madens** cf. Stat. *Theb.* quoted under 413-416 (*lubrica tabo frena, ... madidus temo,* Ov. *Met.* 14.819 *pressos temone cruento / impavidus conscendit equos Gradivus.*

**atroque in pulvere** 'black' is the colour of blood; cf. Verg. *A.* 2.272 f. *aterque cruento / pulvere,* Ov. *Met.* 6.558 *terraeque tremens inmurmurat atrae* (Philomela's tongue), 708 n.

**regum (viscera)** baroque pathos, if ever: the entrails of *kings!*

**416 viscera ... haerent** cf. Stat. *Theb.* quoted under 413-416 *tardior ungula fossi visceribus.*

**nunc aliis, aliis nunc** artistic chiasmus (*abba*), refined and fairly unusual; Vergil uses only the *abac* construction, and Statius almost nothing else but *abac* with the exception of 6.624 f. *pectora nunc maerens, nunc ora indigna cruento / ungue secat* (*ab x bc*). Ov. *Met.* 4.71 *hinc Thisbe, Pyramus illinc* and 7.255 *hinc procul Aesoniden, procul hinc iubet ire magistros* are fairly similar to the present line.

*

417. haud usquam Colchorum animi neque cura cavere
418. tela, sed implicitos miseraque in peste revinctos
419. confodiunt ac forma necis non altera surgit
420. quam cervos ubi non Umbro venator edaci,
421. non penna petit, haerentes sed cornibus altis
422. invenit et caeca constrictos occupat ira.
423. ipse recollectis audax Ariasmenus armis
424. desilit. illum acies curvae secat undique falcis
425. partiturque rotis atque inde furentia raptus
426. in iuga Circaeos tetigit non amplius agros.

**417** In **V+L** there is a slip of the scribe, resulting in *haud usquam Colchorum animi . neque in peste revinctos.*, where the end is copied from the next line ("saut du même au même", = *-que*). Fortunately, **C** (*vet.cod.)* has preserved the text *neque cura cavere,* which has been neglected by the many editors who did not consider Carrio's manuscript an original medieval text, or at least believed that some of his readings were his own conjectures (the reading was printed by Giarratano alone). This may be true for some of what Carrio printed, but the excerpts from his *vetus codex* (='**C**') can be trusted (see Taylor). This interpretation makes the

various ingenious conjectures of Pius, Köstlin, Baehrens, Sandström, Sudhaus or Courtney superfluous. The sense can be rendered as 'not anymore is it an object of attention and concern for the Colchians to beware of weapons'.

It may seem strained to combine *animi* and *cura*, subjects of an implied *sunt*. Heinsius replaced *haud usquam* by *exsultant*, Baehrens *usquam* by *moti*. However, just as *cura est* + infinitive is usual[21], one can say *animus (mihi) est* + infinitive (K./S. 1.668), as in Verg. *A.* 4.638 f. *sacra Iovi .../ perficere est animus*, Ov. *Ep.* 7.181 *est animus nobis effundere vitam*, *Met.* 5.149 f. *omnibus unum/ opprimere est animus*, Suet. *Jul.* 82.4 *fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere. animus* with a genitive instead of *Colchis* may give the word the colour of 'valour', as it had in 279 above.

**418 implicitos** referring to the simile: 401 *implicat*, just as *secant* (414) corresponds to *lacerat* (401).

**miseraque in peste** for *miser* with terms of death and destruction cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.13 f. *hic miseram famem/ pestemque.*

**revinctos** cf. 4.708 *aeternumque revinctos nescius* (the Cyanean rocks), or examples of 'bound in fetters' as Verg. *A.* 2.57, Sil. 1.450.

**419 confodiunt** 'run through', a famous example in Suet. *Jul.* 81.3 *Calpurnia uxor imaginata est ... maritumque in gremio suo confodi*, 82.2 *tribus et viginti plagis confossus est.*

**forma necis** cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 551 *et mille formas mortis.*

**420 ff.** the simile of the dog devouring the entangled stags is an original one and very appropriate. Possibly it is an elaboration of Verg. *A.* 12.749 ff., where in fact one stag *is* hunted with an Umbrian (!) dog and the feathered net (*inclusum veluti si quando flumine nactus/ cervum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae/ venator cursu canis et latratibus instat;/ ille ... at vividus Umber/ ....*

**420 Umbro** Umbrian dogs are frequently mentioned in the context of hunting, as in Verg. *A.* 12.753 f. *vividus Umber/ haeret hians*, Grat. 171 f. *at fugit (sc. pecus) adversos idem quos repperit hostes/ Umber*, Sen. *Thy.* 497-503 *sic, cum feras vestigat et longo sagax/ loro tenetur Umber ac presso vias/*

---

21 For *cura est* + infinitive see K./S. 1.743, as well as Verg. *G.* 1.52, Tib. 1.9.51, Luc. 1.638 (from OLD6).

*scrutatur ore, dum procul lento suem/ odore sentit, paret et tacito locum/ rostro pererrat; praeda cum propior fuit,/ cervice tota pugnat et gemitu vocat/ dominem morantem seque retinenti eripit*, Sil. 3.295f. *aut exigit Umber/ nare sagax e calle feras* (where *sagax* resembles *edax* here). In Verg. *G.* 3.412 f. the dog is addressed, *montisque per altos/ ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum.*

**edaci** according to TLL 5.2.61.80 ff. an epithet of (Ovid) *vultur, piscis*, (Avienus) *sturnus.*

**421 penna** Ehlers printed *penna*, most other editors with the Mss. *pinna*; however, TLL does not wish to distinguish between the two. Bird's feathers were fixed to a line opposite the hunting nets for deer. Compare Verg. *A.* 12.749 in the context of an *Umber* (quoted above), *G.* 3.371 f. *(cervi ...) hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis/ puniceae agitant pavidos formidine pennae*, Nemes. *Cyn.* 303 ff. *linea quin etiam, magnos circumdare saltus/ quae possit volucresque metu concludere praedas,/ digerat innexas non una ex alite pinnas*, Grat. *Cyn.* 75 f. *sunt quibus immundo decerptae vulture plumae/ instumentum operis fuit et non parva facultas*, Sen. *Phaed.* 46 *picta iubenti/ linea pinna vano cludat/ terrore feras*, Luc. 4.438 ff. *sic, dum pavidos formidine cervos/ claudat odoratae metuentes aera pinnae,/ aut dum dispositis attollat retia varis/ venator tenet ora levis clamosa Molossi.*

**haerentes ... cornibus** cf. reality in 416 *curribus haerent.*

**cornibus altis** Phaed. 1.12.5 *(cervus) ibi dum ramosa mirans laudat cornua.*

**422 caeca ... ira** cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.7.44 *caecaque me praedam fecerat ira suam.* The *ira* may be stimulated by the deer's *caecus amor* (just as in 454 below); after all, *in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem* (Verg. *G.* 3.244).

**constrictos** is saying the same as *haerentes cornibus altis*: the deer have the antlers interlocked. The verb takes up *implicitos* (418); cf., about branches, Curt. 5.4.24 *ad hoc arborum rami, alius alio implicati et cohaerentes, ut perpetuum obiecerant saepem.*

**occupat** Strand. Most editors have accepted the conjecture of Pius *excipit* for *accipit* **V**, **L**, **C**. Strand 115 explains how *excipere* is a hunting term, applied, *e.g.*, to a wild boar running in the direction of the hunter who is ready for him with the spear, while *accipere* is impossible. However, the stags are fixed in their position. Strand proposed *occupat*, which was printed by Ehlers. It seems excellent palaeographically, and has the required meaning of 'grasping, seizing hold of'; Strand cites parallels such as 3.153 f. *Glaucumque ruentem/ occupat*, 3.168 *occupat os bar-*

*bamque viri*, 6.198 f. *prior occupat .../ cassidis ima Melas*, while further parallels are Verg. *G.* 4.439 f. *manicisque iacentem/ occupat* (Aristaeus with Proteus), Luc. 8.670 *spirantiaque occupat ora*, and VF 8.87 *donec sopor occupet iras*, which is relevant for having a similar ending.

**423 recollectis ... armis** cf. 6.253 f. *hastam/ ... recollectam*, there of arms recovered to be reused for killing again, here to be taken with him in his flight.

**424 secat** cf. 414 *quos radii, quos frena secant.*

**falcis** cf. *falcesque rapaces* (Lucr. 3.650) for the scythes of the *falciferos ... currus* (642), or Curt. 4.15.4 *alios ab utroque latere demissae falces laceravere*, Gel. 5.5.3 *currus cum falcibus*).

**425 partiturque rotis** Ariasmenus killed by his own scimitar-cars recalls Hom. *Il.* 18.230 f. ὄλοντο δυώδεκα φῶτες ἄριστοι/ ἀμφι σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι in the panic after Achilleus has just showed his face. In 409 n. Luc. 7.531 is quoted, where the troops aim their arms against the own ranks.

**raptus** cf. 389 *omnes rapturus ... Colchos* in the beginning of the story; the ring is fatally closed.

**426 iuga** 'chariots', as in 388.

**Circaeos agros** cf. ARh 3.199 f. πεδίοιο./ Κιρκαῖον τόδε που κικλήσκεται (with Hunter), where the corpses of male Colchians were hung in osier trees.

**tetigit ... agros** *tangere agros* here more or less 'stepping around alive', and different from Verg. *A.* 9.135 where it refers to the Trojans 'having reached' the Italian soil.

*

427. talia certatim Minyae sparsique Cytaei
428. funera miscebant campis Scythiamque premebant
429. cum Iuno Aesonidae non hanc ad vellera cernens
430. esse viam nec sic reditus regina parandos,
431. extremam molitur opem, funesta priusquam
432. consilia ac saevas aperit rex perfidus iras.

## C. 427-477: Juno and Venus

Inspiration from Homer (*Il.* 14.153-223) makes Juno go and persuade Venus to lend to her the girdle inducing longing for love, to the action of which Medea will be exposed.

**427 talia ... (funera)** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.602 f. *talia per campos edebat funera ductor/ Dardanius*, Catul. 64.82 f.

**sparsique Cytaei (campis)** VF 8.27 *sparsis comitum per lustra catervis*. For *Cytaei* see Wijsman *ad* 5.466.

**428 funera miscebant** not a usual combination (TLL 8.1084.59 ff.); found also in 6.631. Compare, however, *volnera miscere* in Verg. *A.* 12.720, Luc. 3.354, Stat. *Theb.* 11.535; further *miscere neces* (VF 3.381), *copiam mortis, pugnas, proelia, certamina*, etc.

**Scythiamque premebant** cf. Cic. *Man.* 30 *Italia, quae cum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur* (from Fucecchi), Verg. *A.* 10.54 *Karthago premat Ausoniam.*

**430 (Iuno) nec ... regina** separation of words in apposition (or, occasionally, an adjective from its head) occurs from time to time in Vergil and in VF; Wijsman *ad* VF 5.35 gives instances with *-que, ac, aut, ve, sed*. One with *et* was earlier noticed in 6.100 f. *gelidum ... et ... Alazona.* I do not know of another example with *nec*. Kleywegt 1986: 2462 mentions further 7.117, 2.175, 3.25/10 with *et, que, sed* and the peculiar 3.604 f. *ipse vel ... vel ... ductor.* — For *regina* applied to Juno cf. Verg. *A.* 1.9, 1.46, 7.573 *(Saturnia) ... regina.*

**reditus ... parandos** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.369 *hosne mihi reditus, germane, parabas?*, ARh 3.75 (Juno to Venus) εἰ μή σύ γε νόστον ὀπάσσεις (from Fucecchi). The 'thought of a glorious return home' is dealt with by Strand 52).

**431 extremam opem** 'final assistance'; cf. 5.385 *fer opem, regina, viris!*

**funesta (consilia)** according to TLL 4.450.14 the only instance of the combination.

**432 saevas ... iras (/ ... seris ... querellis) C** (*vet.cod.)* has *seras ... iras* and *saevis ... querellis*. For *sera ira* there is a parallel, Stat. *Theb.* 5.133 *ausis sera, quidem manet ira tamen*; however, there are better parallels

for *saeva ira* in Verg. *A.* 10.813, Prop. 1.18.14 (TLL 7.2.367.74 f.). Either the **V+L** tradition or the **C** tradition must have interchanged *saevus* and *serus*. It seems more likely that **C** is at fault; compare Verg. *A.* 10.94 *sera querelis*, spoken by Juno, with *maesta seris querelis*. Fucecchi cites VF 3.371 *aperire dolorem*, 6.459 *aperire timores*, Ov. *Met.* 9.602 *aperire furores*.

**rex perfidus** also in 7.425 (Jason to Medea about her father); cf. 5.289 f. *perfida regis/ corda*, Verg. *A.* 4.421, 305, 366, 7.362 (Aeneas from the standpoint of Dido or Amata), 10.231 (Turnus), and applied to Tereus (Ov. *Met.* 6.539), Laomedon's words (Ov. *Met.* 11.206), Theseus (Ov. *Fast.* 3.464, 473 in the wake of Catul. 64.133), Hannibal (Ov. *Fast.* 3.148, 6.242, followed by Silius), Eteocles (Stat. *Theb.* 3.1, 11.569). Of all these Theseus and Aeneas were unfaithful to a woman, Tereus ruthless, Laomedon and Eteocles treacherous as kings. Laomedon may be in the background of the present instance.

*

433. increpat et seris Vulcanum maesta querellis,
434. cuius flammiferos videt inter regia tauros
435. pascua Tartaream proflantes pectore noctem.
436. haec etenim Minyas ne iungere Marte peracto
437. monstra satis iubeat Cadmei dentibus hydri
438. ante diem, timet et varias circumspicit artes.

**433 increpat et** 'she scolds also Vulcan ...'.

**seris ... maesta querellis** 'sad, because she should have complained earlier'. For *maesta* see 73 n. In addition to Verg. *A.* 10.94 quoted above, Fucecchi refers to Catul. 64.130 *extremis ... querellis*.

**Vulcanum** in ARh 3.229 f. (with Hunter) Hephaestus is branded as the inventor of the fire-spitting bulls: τεχνήεις Ἥφαιστος ..../ καί οἱ χαλκόποδας ταύρους κάμε.

**434 flammiferos** on adjectives in *-fer* see 138 n. There is a complete list of adjectives in *-fer* and *-ger* in Korn *ad* 4.137. *flammifer* had been in use since Enn. *scen.* V 29 = 25 J, also in Ovid, Lucan, Seneca, VF (four times) and Silius.

**inter (pascua)** M. González-Haba (*Glotta* 42 (1964) 191-213 gives two other passages containing *inter pascua*, Pallad. 4.*(Mart.)*.13.4 *ceterae (equae) passim toto anno inter pascua dimissis secum maribus implantur* (4th Century) and Stat. *Theb.* 4.69 ff. *ut possessa diu taurus meat arduus inter/ pascua iam laxa cervice et inanibus armis,/ dux tamen.* He quotes ap-

provingly (or so it seems) Langen's statement that the *pascua* here stand for the bulls. However, there is a sort of overlap between *in* and *inter*, *e.g.*, Verg. *A*. 6.658 *inter odoratum lauris nemus* for "*inter nemoris arbores*", 3.646 f. *cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum / lustra domosque traho* (Achaemenides), Apul. *Met*. 6.3 *inter ... lucum*. Therefore *inter regia pascua* can simply mean that she sees the bulls somewhere in the royal grounds.

**435 Tartaream** cf. 1.828 *Tartarei ... patris*.

**proflantes pectore** cf. ARh 3.1292 πυρὸς σέλας ἀμπνείοντες, Q.Cic. *Poet*. 6 *Leo proflat ferus ore calores*, Verg. *A*. 9.326 *proflabat pectore somnum*, Ov. *Fast*. 1.573, Stat. *Theb*. 11.266 *proflantem pectore*, VF 7.571 *taurus ... proflavit ... flammas*. Fucecchi quotes Verg. *A*. 4.530 *pectore noctem*.

**Tartaream proflantes ... noctem** what the bulls emit from their noses is *fire*, so the combination *Tartarea* (dark) *nox* seems an oxymoron, compared by Kleywegt 1986:2476 to Vergil's (*A*. 7.456 f.) *atro / lumine*, (*A*. 9.75) *piceum lumen*; in addition he quotes VF 3.96 *facesque atras* (with Verg. *A*. 7.456 f., 9.75) and 7.566 *et ardentes stabula effudere tenebras*.

The phrase can be compared to 2.236 *ignibus atris* (funereal or/and smoky), as in Verg. A. 11.186, Ov. *Fast*. 2.561, Luc. 2.299, 3.98, Stat. *Theb*. 6.81. See Pease on 4.384.

An alternative would be to consider with Langen the *nox* as the black fumes around torches, probably based upon ARh 3.1290 f. βόαυλα / καρτερὰ λιγνυόεντι πέριξ εἰλυμένα καπνῷ. After all, this is an epoch when fire necessarily goes together with smoke. Best, however, to me seems Wagner's solution: *Tartarea nox* is equivalent to 'death' (*Tartarea* referring to 'Hell').

**436 haec** the word can be construed as referring to Juno (429), 'she', or as the demonstrative with *monstra*. The first is supported by Tib. 1.2.44 *haec*, as well as by *hanc* occurring in the earlier line Tib. 1.2.43 (both quoted in 443 n.) and *hanc* in 445. On the other hand the finite verbs of 431-438 all have Juno as their subject, making it superfluous to mention her again. Rather, the word refers to the bulls just mentioned. Because Burman's (late) codex gave *nec*, he conjectured *rex*, which as a subject to *iubeat* makes good sense.

**marte peracto** *peragere bellum* in (TLL 10.1.1180.65 ff.) Ov. *Fast*. 2.482, Sen. *Tro*. 1167, Luc. 4.354, 9.851, 10.391, Tac. *Hist*. 3.78.3 *dum peractum bellum putant*.

**437 satis ... Cadmei dentibus hydri** 'after the sowing of the dragon's teeth' (reverse order, *hysteron proteron*); cf. Verg. *G.* 2.140 f. *haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem/ invertere satis immanis dentibus hydri.*

**Cadmei ... hydri** the same words in 7.76. Compare the former note. The dragon figures in ARh 3.1178 ff. δράκοντος, ὃν Ὠγυγίῃ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ/ Κάδμος .../πέφνεν; cf. VF 8.343 *Echionii* (Theban) ... *hydri.* Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 7.121 points out that Pherecydes (*FGH* I.3 F22) had already told how the teeth used were from Cadmus' dragon, having been brought to Colchis by Mars and Pallas. The story of the dragon is in Ov. *Met.* 3.1-137 + 4.563-603.

**438 ante diem,** the expression has been a problem for some editors who punctuate after *hydri* and take *ante diem* with *timet.* Schenkl and Langen printed *Aeetes* instead, and of the editors before Courtney and Ehlers only Lemaire construed *ante diem* with *ne iungere iubeat,* which gives point: Juno does not fear 'too early', but she fears that the king will soon confront Jason with his bulls, a situation that he will not be able to handle before Juno has coaxed Medea into helping him. TLL 5.1.1039.60 ff. gives several examples of *ante diem,* none of these coming close to the present use.

**timet** Fucecchi compares Verg. *A.* 1.661 *(Cytherea) timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis.*

**circumspicit** she 'searches for' another approach; cf. Liv. 5.6.2 *sicut aestivas aves statim autumno texta ac recessus circumspicere,* Verg. *G.* 3.390 *alium circumspice campo* (a ram), Stat. *Theb.* 6.430 *campo dominum circumspicit omni* (the horse).

*

439. sola animo Medea subit, mens omnis in una
440. virgine, nocturnis qua nulla potentior aris.
441. illius ad fremitus sparsosque per avia sucos
442. sidera fixa pavent et avi stupet orbita Solis.
443. mutat agros fluviumque vias, suus alligat †ignis†
444. cuncta sopor recolit fessos aetate parentes
445. datque alias sine lege colus.

**439 sola ... una** first and last word of the line correspond (Fucecchi). In spite of the completely different sense ('lonely' instead of 'only') *sola* may allude to Dido (Verg. *A.* 1.597, 4.32, 82, 467, 543) in the ears of a public thoroughly familiar with the *Aeneid.* Medea and Dido

were both deserted by their prospective husbands; see also 490 n. and 580 n.

**animo ... subit** cf. (from TLL 2.95.50) Stat. *Theb.* 2.309 *animum subit illa dies*, *Silv.* 1.2.195 *redeunt animo iam dona precesque.*

**omnis in una (virgine)** cf., also of Medea, 5.376 f. *haeret in una/ defixus*; differently 6.615 *caede moratur in una/*. For *omnis in unum/* cf. 6.371 n., Ov. *Met.* 3.647 f. *te ... omnis in uno/ nostra salus*, 715 f. *ruit omnis in unum/ turba*, 8.112 f. *spes omnis in unum/ te*, Luc. 5.177 f. *omnis in unam/ congeriem.*

**440 nocturnis qua nulla potentior aris** cf. Verg. *A.* 6.252 for the practice of the Sibyl's art: *tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras.* For *potentior* Burman refers to Ov. *Met.* 7.167 (Jason to Medea) *quid enim non carmina possunt? potens* also in Apul. *Met.* 1.8.4 *saga, inquit, et divina, potens caelum deponere, terram suspendere, ...*

**441 ff.** A commonplace to be compared with Verg. *A.* 4.487 ff., Ov. *Met.* 7.153 ff., 199 ff., Luc. 6.461 ff., Apul. *Met.* 1.3, 1.8, where similar magical phenomena are summed up (quoted in 443 n.); also (Hypsipyle about Medea) Ov. *Ep.* 6.85 ff. *illa reluctantem cursu deducere lunam/ nititur et tenebris abdere solis equos;/ illa refrenat aquas obliquaque flumina sistit;/ illa loco silvas vivaque saxa movet.* An interesting parallel is Sen. *Med.* 712 ff. *sucos legunt ...* (739) *mundus vocibus primis tremit*, 757 *pariterque mundus lege confusa aetheris/ et solem et astra vidit et vetitumque mare/ tetigistis, ursae. temporum flexi vices....* (762) *violenta Phasis vertit in fontem vada*, 768 *Phoebus in medio stetit/ Hyadesque nostris cantibus motae labant.*

**441 ad fremitus** from **C**; *ad flatus* ed. 1498 and, according to Courtney, already in 15th century Mss. such as **R** and **H**; *ad fretus* **L** (corrected into *ad fletus*). For lines 439-476 there is a lacuna in **V**. A change in the manuscripts of *fremitus* to *fretus* is more likely than the reverse. Although *ad flatus* has been ingeniously conjectured (for which Courtney quotes 157 *spirans Medea venenis*), there is no reason to change the sound *ad fremitus* of **C**. In witchcraft a soft murmur of incantations is in place, even if TLL 6.1.1280.60 considers this use of *fremitus* an isolated instance; for the sense cf. Tib. 1.2.47 (adduced by Broukhusius according to Burman) *iam tenet inferias magico stridore catervas*, Apul. *Met.* 1.3 *mendacium ... quamsi quis velit dicere* ***magico susurramine*** *amnes agiles reverti, ... solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli*, 2.1 *Thessaliae loca ..., quo artis magicae nativa cantamina totius orbis*

***consono ore*** *celebrentur*, 2.1 *omnia prorsus* ***ferali murmure*** *in aliam effigiem translata.*

**sparsos ... sucos** herbal extracts with magical power are frequently mentioned: Ov. *Ep.* 12.181 (Medea to Jason) *sucusque veneni*, Tib.3 [Lygd.] 5.9 with Antolín, who refers to Ov. *Met.* 7.152 *Lethaei gramine suci* (= the potion Medea gave Jason to induce sleep in the dragon), *Met.* 7.215 (to rejuvenate Aeson), 265, 287, 316, 13.941, as well as in the context of Circe (14.43, 275, 299), Verg. *A.* 12.418 f. (*Venus) spargitque salubris / ambrosiae sucos*, Luc. 6.455 f. *turgentia suco / ... pignora* (of a mare), *Eleg. Maec.* 1.110 *Aeetis sucis omniperita suis.* See also Sen. *Med.* quoted above. In Ov. *Met.* 6.139 f. (Athena) *sucis Hecateidos herbae / sparsit* (Arachne).

**per avia** the combination is fairly frequent (TLL 2.1448.27 ff.) but *sparsos per avia* seems to imply ample space. Anyhow this was the place, as it still is now, where the interesting herbs grow. The words *per avia* appear in 3.545, 596 f., Ov. *Met.* 1.701, Luc. 1.569, Stat. *Theb.* 2.79, 3.115, 5.564, Sil. 6.56. There is a play on words in *avia* followed by *avi* (442).

**442 sidera fixa** see also Sen. *Med.* quoted above. Stars, moon, and rivers figure in ARh 3.532 ff. καὶ ποταμοὺς ἵστησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεινὰ ῥέοντας, ἄστρα τε καὶ μήνης ἱερῆς ἐπέδησε κελεύθους; cf. Verg. *A.* 10.16 *divumque interpres Asilas / ... caeli cui sidera parent.* VF's *sidera fixa pavent* may playfully allude to Vergil's *sidera parent.*

**stupet orbita** cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.42 *stupuitque Ixionis orbis.*

**orbita Solis** Ov. *Am.* 2.1.23 f. *carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae, et revocant niveos solis euntis equos.* The word *orbita* came into use fairly late (TLL 9.2.920.77 ff.): Sen. *Nat.* 7.10.2 *lunaris illa orbita*, Luc. 9.691 *premit orbita solis / exuritque solum (Africum)*, Plin. *Nat.* 2.172 *media vero terrarum, qua solis orbita est*, Sil. 10.538 f., 16.295, Stat. *Theb.* 12.306 (of the moon), *Silv.* 3.3.55. Compare also Ov. *Med.* 37 ff. quoted below; see also Sen. *Med.* quoted above. With *avi ... Solis* compare 518 (see n.).

**443 mutat agros fluviumque vias** cf. (Langen) Tib. 1.2.43 f. *hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi / fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter.* The *agri* are the river banks; the river flows backwards, as is clear from Ov. *Met.* 7.199 f. *quorum ope, cum volui, ripis mirantibus amnes / in fontes rediere suos*, *Ep.* 6.87 *illa refrenat aquas obliquaque flumina sistit*, *Am.* 1.8.6 *inque caput liquidus arte recurvat aquas*, 2.1.26 *inque suos fontes recurvit aqua*, *Med.* 37 ff. *nec vos graminibus nec mixto credite suco / ... / ... / nec redit in fontes unda supina suos / ... / numquam Luna suis excutietur equis*, Claud. 3(*Ruf.I*).149 ff. (Megaera speak-

ing) *nec me latuere fluentes / arboribus suci funestarum potestas / herbarum ... quas legit Medea ferox et callida Circe. / saepius horrendos manes sacrisque litari / nocturnis Hecaten / ...* 159 *versaque non prono curvavi flumina lapsu / in fontes reditura suos.* See also Sen. *Med.* quoted above. For *mutat agros* compare Stat. *Theb.* 7.70 f. (Mars) *diraque adspargine latos / mutat agros* (with Smolenaars), 12.656 f. *virides gravis ungula campos / mutat*, where *mutat* is clearly 'destroys'. See also Verg. *Ecl.* 8.3f. *(herbarum) quorum stupefacta carmine lynces et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus* (Fucecchi).

**suus alligat †ignis† / (cuncta sopor)** *ignis* **L**; *igni* **C** (*vet.cod.*). This is a difficult passage. Ehlers prints obeli around *suus* and around *cuncta sopor*, and cautiously suggests combining *sopore colit*, which would remove the difficult choice of a subject for *alligat*, *ignis* or *sopor*; for *cuncta* he prefers to read *ipsa* or *illa*. However, the word going with *alligat* should be *sopor*, in view of the following parallels: VF 1.48 *serus fessos sopor alligat artus*, Sen. *Con. exc.* 10.6 *etiam ministros eius alligaverat somnus*, *Her.O.* 1413 *sopore fessas alligat venas dolor. suus sopor* occurs in Verg. *G.* 4.190 *fessosque sopor suus occupat artus* ('their due share').

La Penna (in Fucecchi) proposed to read *vis* instead of *suus*, and to consider *ignis* a genitive; ingenious, but not to be reconciled with the parallels supporting *sopor alligat* cited above.

Therefore, the suspect word is rather *ignis*. It can be considered the accusative of *ignes*, 'stars'[22], in view of, *e.g.*, Verg .*A.* 4.489 *sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro*, Ov. *Met.* 8.180 *gemmae nitidos vertuntur in ignes* (Ariadne's crown); this requires the emendation of *cuncta*. *ignis* can also be a corruption of an adjective going with *sopor*. Schenkl conjectured *urguens*, the Ed. Princ. *ingens*. Corruption of the latter is easier to explain (*pace* Courtney), which is why I do not see what more the former has to offer. In this case *igni* **C** would be one step further removed from the original text than *ignis* **L**.

Shackleton Bailey is not exactly helpful when he refers here to the flames of the fire-breathing bulls (ARh 3.531); Medea's deep slumber is destined for the dragon, the bulls are only enveloped in a spray of water.

**444 recolit parentes** (*recoquit* Gronovius) cf. 2.395 f. *gentem / qui recolant*, 'who can rebuild our race'? The story was that Aeson had been rejuvenated by blood transfusion, as told in Ov. *Met.* 7.159-296. It is

---

[22] For *ignes* = 'stars' cf. 2.65 *septenosque ... ignes*, 5.415 *rorantes ... ignes* (the Pleiads, Hyads), Catul.62.7 *Oetaeos ostendit Noctifer ignes*, Man. 5.38 *sed tum prima suos puppis consurgit in ignes*.

true that in the version VF follows Aeson has committed suicide in 1.752-826, but see Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* for different sources.

**fessos aetate parentes** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.596 *fessum aetate parentem.*

**445 datque alias ... colus** the distaff of the Parcae weaving the thread of life, metonymically life itself; see also Claud. *Rapt.* 1.63 f. quoted below. The word *colus* is peculiar in being treated either as feminine or as masculine, and as having a root in *-o* or in *-u*.

**sine lege** for the *lex* of the Parcae cf. (TLL 7.2.1250.14 ff.) Ov. *Tr.* 5.3.25 f. *hanc legem ... Parcae/ ... cecinere tibi*, *Ep.* 15.81 *ita nascenti legem dixisse Sorores*, Sil. 9.475, 10.644, Claud. 91 (*Carm.min.* 11).1 *pulchris stare diu Parcarum lege negatur*, *Rapt.* 1.63 f. *dissolvere leges/ quas dedimus nevitque colus* (Lachesis speaking).

*

445. hanc maxima Circe
446. terrificis mirata modis, hanc advena Phrixus
447. quamvis Atracio lunam spumare veneno
448. sciret et Haemoniis agitari cantibus umbras.
449. ergo opibus magicis et virginitate tremendam
450. Iuno duci sociam coniungere quaerit Achivo.

**445 hanc** cf. Tib. 1.2.43 f. *hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi/ fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter*, where *hanc* and *haec* both refer to a witch.

**maxima (terrificis modis)** concessive, 'even she, the greatest in her horrifying ways'. TLL 8.1277.76 knows no other example of the combination *terrifici modi. modus* in the sense of 'variety' occurs frequently, *e.g.*, Luc. 3.689 f. *mille modos inter leti mors una timori est,/ qua coepere mori.* Compare 155 *maximus hos inter Stygia venit arte Coastes*; Coastes and Circe form the top couple.

**446 advena Phrixus** Phrixus is a Thessalian and as such supposed to be an expert in wizardry.

**mirata** *sc. est.*

**447 Atracio ... veneno** from Atrax in Thessaly, referring to the Thessalians as specialists in witchcraft. The word was applied to Hippodamia in VF 1.141; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.106 *Atracia ... arte. Thessalis* means 'witch' in VF 1.737, Stat. *Theb.* 3.140, Luc. 6.564.

**lunam spumare** referring to an ancient superstition that dew came down from the moon and could be collected from herbs; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.268 *addit et exceptas luna pernocte pruinas*, VF 7.330 *et quae sanguineo lunae destrinxit ab ore*, 8.83 *contra Tartareis Colchis spumare venenis (perstat)*, Luc. 6.669 *et virus large lunare ministrat*, and, in particular, Luc. 6.499 ff. *illis et sidera primum/ praecipiti deducta polo, Phoebeque serena/ ... palluit .... et patitur tantos cantu depressa labores/ donec suppositas propior despumet in herbas.*

**448 Haemoniis ... cantibus** cf. Luc. 6.479 f. *impulsam sidere* (the moon) *Tethyn/ reppulit Haemonium defenso litore carmen*, Ov. *Am.* 1.14.40 *Haemonia ... aqua*, in a context of magic, Tib. 2.4.55 f. *quidquid habet Circe, quidquid Medea veneni/ quidquid et herbarum Tessala terra gerit.*

**umbras** sorcery often involves compelling the shades or conjuring it into a corpse as in Luc. 6.637 ff.; cf. (from Langen) Verg. *A.* 4.490 *nocturnos movet Manis*, Tib. 1.2.45 f. *haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris/ elicit et tepido devorat ossa rogo*, Ov. *Met.* 7.206 *et mugire solum manesque exire sepulcris*, Claud. 3(*Ruf.I*).154 ff. (Megaera speaking) *saepius horrendos manes sacrisque litavi/ nocturnis Hecaten .../ ... multosque canendo/ quamvis Parcarum restarent fila, peremi.*

**449 opibus magicis et virginitate** best considered a hendiadys, in her youthful recklessness. Certain commentators have stressed the power of being a virgin (priestess of Hecate); but *virgo* too often only indicates a young woman. In Ov. *Met.* 7.239 f. Medea, while preparing her magic, shuns sex: *refugitque viriles/ contactus.* Wetzel 79 thinks that she is here depicted as a magician as well as a delicate young girl, *both* at the same time.

**450 Iuno** with short *-o*, as in 680; see on *leo* 347 n., *virgo* 491 n. See Kösters 87.

**sociam coniungere** to link as an ally, but eventually in the form of a *coniunx*!; cf. 1.165 f. *socium te iungere coeptis/ est animus*, Verg. *A.* 5.712 *hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem*, 9.199 *socium summis adiungere rebus.*

**duci Achivo** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.266 *Mycenaeus magnorum ductor Achivum*, *A.* 1.488 *principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis.*

*

451. non aliam tauris videt et nascentibus armis
452. quippe parem nec quae medio stet in agmine flammae,

453. nullum mente nefas, nullos horrescere visus:
454. quid si caecus amor saevusque accesserit ignis?
455. hinc Veneris thalamos semperque recentia sertis
456. tecta petit. visa iamdudum prosilit altis
457. diva toris volucrumque exercitus omnis Amorum.

**451 nascentibus armis** 'dragon-tooth-born warriors'; for *arma* denoting 'soldiers' see 617 n.

**452 quippe** for the postposition cf. 1.698 f. *ruat omnis in illos/ quippe furor*, Verg. *A.* 1.58 f. *ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum/ quippe ferant rapidi secum.*

**parem** cf. 5.43 *monstriferae par ille novercae* with Wijsman.

**nec quae** *necq* **L** (according to Courtney), *neque* **C**; however, Courtney rightly remarks that *neque quae* would be *contra Valerii usum*; witness the combination *nec q...* in 13 instances, *neque q...* in none.

**medio stet in agmine flammae** a descriptive subjunctive, '*quae talis est ut stet*', 'another one who can remain standing in the midst of hostile flames'. Fucecchi cites Verg. *A.* 9.28 *medio dux agmine Turnus*, Luc. 1.245 *medio ... in agmine Caesar.*

**453 nullum mente nefas, nullos horrescere visus** what is the infinitive dependent upon? The text as transmitted can be understood as *non aliam videt <habentem in> mente non horrescere ullum nefas, ullos visus.* For transitive *horrescere* compare Verg. *A.* 3.394 *nec tu mensarum, morsus horresce futuros*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.505 f. *bellum/ horrescit pietas*, Sil. 3.125 *nec quemquam horresco*, Mart. 5.34.3 *parvola ne nigras horrescat Erotion umbras*, Apul. *Met.* 7.5.6 *praedo ... cuius totae provinciae nomen horrescunt*, Claud. XXXI (*Carm.min.* 25).138 *quem nunc horrescis amabis.* — Koestlin (1880:441) proposed to transpose 453 to a position after 454, reading

non aliam tauris videt et nascentibus armis (451)
quippe parem nec quae medio stet in agmine flammae; (452)
quid si caecus amor saevusque accesserit ignis (454)
nullum mente nefas, nullos horrescere visus? (453)

apparently interpreting as 'what if passion should have invaded her <habit of never> shrinking at whatever vision?', but the transposition does not seem necessary. For the words compare Verg. *A.* 10.901 *nullum in caede nefas.*

**454 caecus amor saevusque ... ignis** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.210 *caeci ... amoris*, VF 6.422 *caeca ... ira. ignis* for 'love' is found repeatedly in VF following the lead of Verg. *A.* 1.660 *ossibus implicet ignem*, as in VF 2.354, 4.353 *blandos ... ignes*, VF 5.110 *blandosque Iovis ... ignes*, 6.657 *neque enim deus amovet ignem*, 7.253 *atque imi monstrabat pectoris ignem*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.10 f. *et miseram tuis / dicens ignibus uri*, Ov. *Met.* 7.9 *concipit interea validos Aeetias (=Medea) ignes* or Verg. *G.* 3.244 *in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem* (the central passage in the whole section about passion in (personified) animals 3.209-283). —The two pairs of words are synonymous and the adjectives interchangeable; cf. Verg. *A.* 4.2 *caeco carpitur igni*, *Ecl.* 8.47 *saevus amor* (about Medea). Bessone 161b quotes Enn. *Med.* CIII, 216 Joc. *Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia.* — "Der Kondizionalsatz nimmt mit den Begriffen *caecus amor* und *saevus ignis* die Medea-Iason-Tragödie andeutungsweise vorweg" (Auhagen 61).

**455** The motif is derived from Hom. *Il.* 14.188, where Hera asks Aphrodite for her ἱμάς to induce love in her grandparents who spend the time in strife and abstain from marital union, whereupon, however, she goes to her husband with it. In ARh, by contrast, Juno and Minerva pay a visit to Venus, asking her for the assistance of Cupid and finding her involved in a quarrel between Ganymede and Cupid. In Verg. *A.* 4.90 ff. Juno accosts Venus and invokes her help (and of her son) to attach Dido to Aeneas. — See also the recent remarks of Spaltenstein (28 ff.), who thinks VF tries to dramatize the scene without going beyond the level of convention.

**Veneris thalamos** together with the *alti tori* of 456/457 a sensual atmosphere is created, since a *thalamus* is the bedroom of a married couple, as in Verg. *A.* 4.18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*, 4.550 *thalami expertem sine crimine vitam*, 6.623 *hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos*, 10.649 *thalamos ne desere pactos*, Ov. *Met.* 4.328 *thalamumque ineamus eundem!*, Germ. *Arat.* 276 *Cycnus vel Laedae thalamis qui illapsus adulter.*

**semperque recentia sertis (tecta)** enallage, since it is the garlands that are fresh, not the festooned building; compare Verg. *A.* 1.415 ff. *sedesque revisit / laeta suas (=Veneris) ... / ... sertisque recentibus halant.* Spaltenstein 31 supposes that irony is here involved, the wreaths not being used desciptively but implying that Venus' faithful followers, young women, are continuously courted and by lovers new each time (for flowers at the door of the beloved he refers to Prop. 1.16.7 *et mihi non desunt turpes pendere corollae* to which I add the next word 1.16.8 *semper*, going ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the former clause and the next one).

**456 visa** *sc. qua* (Juno). See Fucecchi *ad loc.*, who cites Ov. *Met.* 2.695, 13.560, and refers for the ablative absolute "ohne nominalen Teil" to Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 12.426.

**prosilit altis (diva toris)** compare ARh 3.47 καὶ ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο (Cypris); a similar scene in Spencer *Fairy Queen* III.6.19 '*and the Goddesse rose*' (Diana when Venus visits her). Fucecchi refers to Catul. 65.22, Prop. 2.29.40, Ov. *Met.* 7.573, VF 1.310 *prosiluit stratis*, 1.704 f.; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.28 *(Thetis) prosiluit thalamis*. In the opinion of Spaltenstein 29 *prosilit* gives the scene a nervous agitation it lacks in Apollonius, who described the meeting of the goddesses in 150 lines (against 20 in VF); VF needed ways to make his shortened story more lively.

**iamdudum** 'at once', as frequently (TLL 5.1.2180.7 ff.), *e.g.*, Verg. *A.* 2.103 *iamdudum sumite poenas*, Ov. *Met.* 11.482 "*ardua iamdudum demittite cornua" rector / clamat*, VF 6.604, Sil. 1.300 f. *pandere iamdudum portas et cedere vallo / imperat.*

**457 diva** In VF the word occurs 25 times, which is frequent. The author applies the word to Iris, Fama, Luna, the Parcae and several times to Venus; there may have been influence of Lucr. 1.12, 28, 38 (followed by Verg. *A.* 8.387, 396). The word is repeated in 467. According to TLL 5.1.1654.41 ff. *diva* is not commonly used in Latin, and mainly found in poets: thrice in Catul., 8 times in the *Aeneid*, once in Horace, in Ovid 4 times in *Am.*, 5 in *Met.*, 4 in *Fast.*, once each in Liv., Germ., Sen. *Oed.*, Luc., Sil., Stat. *Ach.*, thrice in the *Thebaid.*

**(altis) toris** the soft feather-bed gives a sensual air, although Statius goes one better in *Silv.* 1.2.59 *fessa iacet stratis*. The word *tori* has strong erotic overtones, as in VF 2.354 f. (Hypsipyle) *blandos paulatim colligit ignes / iam non dura toris Veneri nec iniqua reversae*, 5.444 *regalique toro laetus gener*, Ov. *Met.* 7.91 *promisitque torum* (Jason!), 1.589 f. *o virgo Iove digna tuoque beatum / nescio quem factura toro*, *Tr.* 2.346 *vetitos ... toros*, Luc. 2.329 *quondam virgo toris melioris iuncta mariti*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.257 f. *conscia magni / signa tori* (of Juno and Jupiter), *Silv.* 3.3.109 *mentem vincire toris*, Apul. *Met.* 10.24 *puellam velut aemulam tori*. The combination already in Vergil: *A.* 2.2, 6.603 f.

**volucrumque exercitus omnis Amorum** the military metaphor seems related to where we are in the story, a scene to give a little relief from the war's tension; cf. 475 *imperium natorum*. In Sil. 11.411 (with Spaltenstein) the Cupids are spoken of as a *niveis exercitus alis*. Compare for the winged Cupids VF 7.171 *aligerum mater ... Amorum*, Ov. *Ep.* 16.203 *volucrum ... mater Amorum*, Ov. *Met.* 9.482 *volucer cum matre Cupido.*

**Amorum** for the first time in Latin in Catul. 3.1 *lugete o Veneres Cupidinesque*, also in Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.1 and 4.1.5 *mater saeva Cupidinum*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.54 *fulcra torosque deae tenerum premit agmen Amorum.* The possibilities were not missed by Claudian, 10(*Ep.Hon.*).71 ff. *unde Cupidineas armari fama sagittas./ mille pharetrati ludunt in margine fratres,/ ore pares, aevo similes, gens mollis Amorum.*

*

458. ac prior hanc placidis supplex Saturnia dictis
459. adgreditur veros metuens aperire timores.
460. 'in manibus spes nostra tuis omnisque potestas
461. nunc' ait 'hoc etiam magis adnue vera fatenti.

**458 placidis ... dictis (adgreditur)** the combination *placidis dictis* is found (TLL 5.1.997.16 ff.) in VF 2.591, 5.533, Ov. *Met.* 1.390, 4.652, *Fast.* 1.227, Luc. 10.175, Stat. *Ach.* 2.31. In Verg. *A.* 4.92 Juno tries to cajole Venus into furthering the union of Aeneas and Dido, *talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis*; compare further 3.358 *his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso*, 4.476 *maestam dictis adgressa sororem*, 6.387 *sic prior adgreditur dictis.*

**supplex Saturnia** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.64 *Iuno supplex.* The lofty title has occurred earlier in the epic, for instance when Juno was complaining about Hercules in 1.112 ff.; in 1.304 and 4.543 Jason is speaking about Juno in the same terms.

**459 veros metuens aperire timores** *aperire* with an abstract object and the sense of 'to reveal', as in 432 *saevas aperit rex perfidus iras*, 3.371 *aperitque dolorem*, Cic. de Orat. 1.84 *non quo aperiret sententiam suam*, Ov. *Met.* 9.602 *praesensque meas aperire furores* ('love').

**460 in manibus ... tuis** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.132 *terra autem in nostris manibus*, Luc. 7.253 *in manibus vestris* = Ov. *Met.* 7.335. The expression has roots in Greek: Hom. *Il.* 15.630 ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμου, ARh 4.202 ff. νῦν δ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν/ παῖδας .... ἴσχομεν.

**spes nostra** cf. 5.390 *in te animos atque omnia nostra repono* (Jason to Medea) about the same enterprise.

**potestas** in relation to Gods; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.522 *sic est mea magna potestas* (Iuno sarcastically about her influence), 4.533 *proxima cui caelo cessit, Neptune, potestas*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.295 (Mars to Venus) *o mihi bellorum requies et sacra voluptas/ unaque pax animo, soli cui tanta potestas/ divorumque*

*hominumque* ... and in particular VF 4.12 *rerum mihi firma potestas* (Jupiter speaking), because in 4.13 he continues: *i, Furias Veneremque move.*

**461 etiam magis adnue** In Hom. *Il.14* the alleged reason for seeing the girdle was not true. Now that it is (see next note), Venus should be even more willing to comply. *magis* is a few times combined with an imperative, as in Verg. *G.* 4.412. For Ciceronian parallels to *etiam magis* see Fucecchi *ad loc.* Baehrens conjectured, superfluously, *en iam* for *etiam.*

**adnue vera fatenti** she would never think of asserting that it was true if it really had been. *vera* takes up *veros* ... *timores* (Shelton 372), her fear for Jason is the only truth. *adnue* is derived from the conversation of Juno and Venus in Verg. *A.* 4.127 f. *non adversata petenti/ adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis,* as well as *A.* 4.107 f. *quis talia demens abnuat* (Venus speaking).

*

durus ut Argolicis Tirynthius exsulat oris
mens mihi non eadem Iovis atque adversa voluntas,
nullus honor thalamis flammaeve in nocte priores.
da, precor, artificis blanda adspiramina formae
ornatusque tuos terra caeloque potentes!'

**462 durus ... Tirynthius** *durus* is ambiguous: 'enduring' as well as 'headstrong'. To the public Hercules is a hero, but Juno may judge him in a different light. *durus* is applied to Hercules in Sen. *Her.F.* 1228 f. *hic durus malis/ lacrimare vultus nescit, Her.O* 1280 *quondam Getico durior Haemo. Tirynthius* occurs only twice in Vergil: *A.* 7.662, 8.228. *Tirynthius* occurs 13 times in VF; Hercules does not scan. On the word (for the use of which there is in Greek not the same metrical necessity) see Eden *ad* Verg. *A.* 8.228.

**ut** 'from the time that', 'since' (OLD 27); compare Fucecchi *ad loc.*

**Argolicis ... exsulat oris** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.225 (the bull!) *victus abit longeque ignotis exsulat oris.* Is there here in Juno's mouth (a depreciative form of) humour involved? Interesting is the difference in construction; in Vergil the bull is an exile far away, **in** foreign territory; here he is an exile away **from** his Argolic homeland. Fucecchi quotes (for the first construction) "Ov. *Ep.* 9.155 *exsulat ignotis Tydeus ... in oris/ Argolicis*". In texts available to me I have only found 9.155 f. *exsulat ignotis Tydeus germanus in oris;/ alter fatali vivus in igne situs.*

**463 mens ... non eadem** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.812 *nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi* (Jupiter speaking).

**adversa** Mss. *aversa* Gronovius, *est ac versa* Burman (cf. Verg. *A.* 12.647 *quoniam superis aversa voluntas* (*adversa* certain Mss.), 2.170 *aversa deae mens*). There is no need, however, to change the transmitted text; *adversa* can have the sense of 'hostile', as in Sall. *Jug.* 113.1 *regiae voluntates ... saepe ipsae sibi advorsae,* Liv. 1.46.2 *quia de agre plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi,* Lygd. [Tib.] 3.5.14 *(nec) impia in adversos solvimus ora deos* (with Antolín), Liv. 9.1.11 *proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant dis,* Ov. *Ep.* 7.4 *adverso movimus ista deo.* For a defence of *aversa* see Fucecchi.

**464 honor thalamis** 'paying due respect to the marriage-bed'. Hom. *Il.14* is the constant background (206-207).

**flammaeve in nocte** *flamma* for 'love', 'passion' (TLL 6.1.867.45 ff.) as in 6.663 *saevae trahitur dulcedine flammae,* Verg. *A.* 8.389 f. *accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas / intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,* 4.66 *est mollis flamma medullas, G.* 3.271 f. *ubi subdita flamma medullis / (vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus),* Ov. *Met.* 7.17 *conceptas pectore flammas*; cf. *A.* 3.330 *flammatus amore,* 4.54. There is a nice contrast between *flamma* in the literal sense and the dark night. Cf. *ignis* for 'love' (454 n.).

**465 da, precor** cf. 1.333 *da, precor,* 5.387 *duc, precor,* 7.162 + 240 *i, precor,* 7.275 *dic precor.* The interjection *precor* is frequent. The word *da* is derived from Hom. *Il.* 14.198 f. δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας/ δάμνᾳ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

**artificis blanda adspiramina formae** the word *adspiramen* occurs only here in Latin, except for the very late Cassiod. *Anim.* 9 (TLL *s.v.*). However, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.96 *verni blanda ad spiramina solis* !, in construction so similar to the present line, that it looks like a correction. One would tend to favour an emendation from *adspiramina* to *spiramina*; however, in view of the immaculate transmission we may consider the two words synonyms for 'exhalations', whether the warmth of the sun or the bodily attraction of female beauty; hence the sense of 'a favouring influence' (Garson 1970:183 derived *adspiramen* 'from *adspirare* in its relatively rare sense of 'to impart'). Although *forma* so often means 'beauty', in the present case Wagner materialises it as a word for the girdle, in view of Hom *Il.* 14.214 f. ἱμὰς ποικίλος, 219/220, considering *blanda adspiramina* the counterpart of θελκτήρια (215). Garson *l.c.* may be right in supposing that *blanda* is enallage for *blandae* (*sc. formae).*

**artificis** adjective, 'refined', but with overtones of 'artificial', as in Juv. 10.238 *tantum artificis valet halitus oris* (of Phiale); in French 'raffinement'.

**466 ornatusque tuos** the girdle. Compare Liv. 34.6.15 (about the repeal of the Oppian law) *tali tempore in luxuria et ornatu matronae occupatae erant.*

**terra caeloque potentes** cf. Verg. *A.* 3.528 *di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes*, 6.247 *Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem,*, VF 6.680 *Iuno potens.* Wagner refers to Hom. *Il.* 14.199 quoted above, Fucecchi to Ov. *Am.* 1.2.37 *his tu militibus superas hominesque deosque* (about Amor).

*

467. sensit diva dolos iam pridem sponte requirens
468. Colchida et invisi genus omne exscindere Phoebi.
469. tum vero optatis potitur nec passa precari
470. ulterius dedit acre decus fecundaque monstris
471. cingula, non pietas quibus aut custodia famae,
472. non pudor, at contra levis et festina cupido
473. adfatusque mali dulcisque labantibus error
474. et metus et demens alieni cura pericli.
475. 'omne' ait 'imperium natorumque arma meorum
476. cuncta dedi. quascumque libet nunc concute mentes'.

**467 sensit diva dolos** cf. Verg. *A.* 4.105 *sensit* (Venus) *enim simulata mente locutam* (a passage ending with (127 f.) *non adversata petenti/ adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis*), 8.393 *sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx* (Venus), Ov. *Met.* 10.277 *sensit, ut ipsa suis aderat Venus aurea festis.* — For *diva* see 457 n.

**sponte** 'for motives of her own', 'without prompting'; cf. Verg. *A.* 4.341 *sponte mea componere curas*, Ov. *Met.* 15.61 f. *exul/ sponte erat*, Luc. 7.356 f. *subiere pericula clari/ sponte viri.*

**468 Colchida** *Colchis* is applied to Medea since Hor. *Epod.* 16.57 f. *non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,/ nec impudica Colchis intulit pedem*, Prop. 2.21.11 *Colchida sic hospes quondam decepit Iason.*

**invisi ... Phoebi** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.647 *iam pridem invisus divis* (Anchises). The line refers to the story of Ares and Aphrodite cuckolding Hephaestus, but being exposed by Helios, as first told by Homer in *Od.* 8.266 ff., retold in Ov. *Ars* 2.573 ff., as well as in the references

below. Her consequent hostility towards the Sun and his progeny is mentioned in Sen. *Phaed.* 124 ff. *stirpem perosa Solis invisi Venus / per nos catenas vindicat Martis sui / suasque, probris omne Phoebeum genus / onerat nefandis. nulla Minois levi / defuncta amore est, iungitur semper nefas*, Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 6.14 *Venus vehementer dolens stirpem omnem Solis persequi infandis amoribus coepit*, Ov. *Met.* 4.170 ff. *Solis referemus amores sqq.* (190 *exigit indicii memorem Cythereia poenam)*, 14.27 *Venus indicio ... offensa paterno* (about Circe), *Ep.* 4.54 *et Venus ex tota gente tributa petat*, Hyg. *Fab.* 148 *Soli autem Venus ob indicium ad progeniem eius semper fuit inimica.* VF has mentioned the anguish of Venus in relation to her disclosed 'affair' with Mars in 2.98 ff. A word-play must be involved in calling the all-seeing Sun, seen by all, *invisus.*

**genus omne exscindere** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.137 *ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem*, 4.425, Stat. *Theb.* 1.261 *veteres armis exscinde Mycenas.*

**469 tum vero** 'a favourite Vergilian connective in vivid narrative' (Fordyce *ad* Verg. *A.* 7.519). In the *Aeneid* the word occurs 24 times; in VF 7 or 8 times, depending on the form chosen in 613.

**optatis potitur** cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.136 *optatis potiere tuis* (Langen). It is Venus for whom it is now the right moment *(tum vero)* to obtain her desires.

**nec passa precari** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.385 f. *nec plura querentem / passa Venus ... interfata ... est.*

**470 acre decus** oxymoron; of the combination there is no other example (TLL *s.v.*).
**fecundaque monstris** accomplishing many a horror, rich in θελκτήρια (Hom. *Il.* 14.215), 'fatal charms'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.340 f. *fecunda veneno / Lerna.* For *monstra* compare (TLL 8.1449.40 ff.) Luc. 6.436 (witches) *ficti quas nulla licentia monstri / transierit*, Plin. *Nat.* 28.116 about the *chamaeleon*: *sinistrum humerum quibus monstris consecret* (quoting Democritus).

**471 cingula** see the astute interpretation of Langen, who points out that a *cingulum* is often the equivalent of 'a neck-lace'; cf. Mart. 6.13.5 f. *ludit Acidalio, sed non manus aspera, nodo / quem rapuit collo, parve Cupido, tuo*, 14.206 *collo necte, puer, meros amores, / ceston de Veneris sinu calentem*, VF 6.668 *monilia.* The *cingulum* can even be a dog's collar, as in Petr. 71.11 *catellam cingula alligatam ducat* (where it could be the 'lead' as well). The classic reference for the interpretation 'belt' is Verg. *A.* 12.942. However, in the case of women one has rather to think of a high girdle

supporting the breasts, as in VF 3.526 *crinis ad obscurae decurrens cingula mammae*; the case of Verg. *A.* 1.492 (Penthesilea) *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae* may be consciously intermediate. Stat. *Theb.* 5.62 f. speaks of the *iugalem ceston* of Venus.

**pietas ... aut custodia famae** compare the description in Verg. *A.* 4.321 ff. *te propter eundem/ exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam, / fama prior.*

**472 at contra** see Fucecchi *ad loc.*

**levis et festina cupido** cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.216 ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος; the combination not elsewhere before the end of Antiquity. For *festinus* cf. 6.325 *festinaque taedia vitae*, 4.470 *festina senectus.* For *levis*, 'light-heartedly, fickle' cf. Tib. 1.7.44 *levis ... amor*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.100 *nec coeant pecudes si levis absit amor*, *Am.* 2.9.49 *tu levis es* (to Cupido), Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.52 *levis ... voluptas*; see also 672 n.

**473 adfatus** is likely to be inspired by Homeric *Il.* 14. 216 f. ἐν δ' ὀαριστύς πάρφασις (persuasive fond discourse). *adfatus mali* should be taken in the sense of 'seduction by evil thoughts'.

**dulcisque labantibus error** cf. for *labare* (literally) Ov. *Fast.* 6.678 *dubii stantque labantque pedes*, (morally) Verg. *A.* 4.22 *animumque labantem*, *Laus Pis.* 9 f. *quid pleni numeroso consule fasti/ profuerint, cui vita labat? dulcis error* is also found in Ps.Quint. *Decl.* 8.3 *dulcis error oculorum.*

**474 demens** cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.217 ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

**alieni cura pericli** compare lines 683-685 where Medea feels as if Jason's perils were hers.

**475 omne ... imperium natorumque arma meorum** cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.365 "*arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia" dixit (Venus)*, Verg. *A.* 5.235 *di quibus imperium est pelagi*, 6.264 *di quibus imperium est animarum*, CIL 10.1596 *veneris caelestae ... inperio deae* (from TLL 7.1.569.34 ff.), or in a different sense Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.6 f. *(Venus, ... desine) flectere mollibus ... imperiis. imperium* is in line with *exercitus* (457) and *arma.* See also 461 *potestas* n.

**476 concute mentes** the combination occurs in Hor. *S.* 2.3.295 *quone malo mentem concussa?*, Val.Max. 9.8 *impulsus, quorum ictibus hominum mentes concussae*; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.468 *hoc concussa metu*, Luc. 4.236 *concussit*

*mentes* (Fucecchi), Verg. *A.* 7.338 *fecundum concute pectus*, 11.451 f. *concussaque vulgi pectora.* — Sen. *Ep.* 58.35 is different: *si coeperit (senectus) concutere mentem.*

**quascumque ... mentes** Venus apparently does not allude any more to the alleged reason Juno asked her for the girdle (Jupiter's *adversa voluntas)*; she knows better.

*

477. cingitur arcanis Saturnia laeta venenis
478. atque hinc virgineae venit ad penetralia sedis
479. Chalciopen imitata sono formaque sororem.
480. fulsit ab invita numen procul et pavor artus
481. protinus atque ingens Aeetida perculit horror.
482. 'ergo nec ignotis Minyas huc fluctibus' inquit
483. 'advenisse, soror, nec nostro sola parenti
484. scis socias iunxisse manus? at cetera muros
485. turba tenet fruiturque virum caelestibus armis.

## D. 477-724: Medea sees Jason winning the War

The report of the battle is resumed. Medea is induced to watch the hostilities; Jason comes forward and wins.

### D.1. *477-506. First Medea interlude.*

Juno does what her husband had commanded in 4.13 *i, Furias Veneremque move!*. Juno assuming the figure of Chalciope and going to bring Medea up to the battlements is modelled upon Iris who, taking on the appearance of the sister of Paris accosts Helen and asks: (*Il.* 3.130) δεῦρ' ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα ἴδηαι.

**477 cingitur** cf. 7.355 *cingitur inde sinus* (said of Medea), Verg. *A.* 4.493 *magicas invitam accingier artis*, 11.486 *cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus*, which must refer to a military dress. Compare Ov. *Met.* 4.511 *(Tisiphone) regna redit Ditis sumptumque recingitur anguem* (a few lines after the quotation under *Saturnia laeta* below).

**arcanis ... venenis** *venenum*, 'potion, charm': cf. Sil. 7.452 f. *omnia parvis / si mea tela dedi blando medicata veneno.* For *arcanum*, 'esoteric', cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.92 *arcanos iterat Cytherea liquores*, Claud. *Rapt.* 3.402 *ar-*

*cano perfudit robora succo. arcanus* contains something of *sacer*, Nemes. *Cyneg.* 42 *Colchidos iratae sacris imbuta venenis*, Ov. *Met.* 2.122 *sacro ... medicamine.* The charms reside in the *monile*, witness 8.18 f. *ipsumque monile venenis / implicat.*

**Saturnia laeta** cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.479 *laeta redit Iuno* (from the Underworld, having achieved her goal, Hom. *Il.* 14.222 f. μείδησεν δὲ βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,/ μειδήσασα δ' ἔπειτα ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο κόλπῳ. To a certain degree *laeta* hase overtones of 'opulent', the meaning of *satur*, while *satura* can signify a dish of mixed vegetables, an appropriate association with mixed 'herbs'. In Verg. *A.* 5.606 ff. *Saturnia* is *necdum antiquum saturata dolorem*; cf. Cic. *ND.* 2.64 *Saturnus autem est appellatus quod saturaretur annis*, 3.62 *Saturnus, quia se saturat annis* (in the context of *quod miserandum sit laboratis*!, but that does not affect the (presumed) etymology).

**478 virgineae ... penetralia sedis** cf. 7.325 *thalami penetrale*, Verg. *A.* 4.504 *penetrali in sede*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.602 f. *Semeles thalamum aut penetrale ... Harmoniae*, 5.313 *arcanis ... in penetralibus.*

**479 imitata sono formaque sororem** with ablative as in Verg. *Ecl.* 2.31 *imitabere Pana canendo.*

**480 f.** understand: *et pavor perculit artus atque ingens horror perculit Aeetida*, in which *artus atque Aeetida* is a hendiadys, although there is also fine psychology at work in describing fear numbing her limbs, while awe takes possession of her mind.

**480 fulsit numen** *lumen* Pius, supported by Heinsius, is more rational, but that is no good argument to change *numen* Mss. Compare Tib.3[Lygd.]. 6.8 *fulserit hic niveis Delius alitibus*, Catul. 68.133 f. *Cupido / fulgebat ... candidus.*

**481 Aeetida** cf. 7.445, *Eleg. Maec.* 1.110 *Aeetis sucis omniperita suis.*

**(pavor artus) atque ... Aeetida perculit horror** cf. 4.651 f. *timor omnibus antro / perculerat*, Luc. 1.192 f. *tum perculit horror / membra ducis*, Claud. 5(*Ruf.II*).130 *Rufinum perculit horror*, Liv. 1.27.10 *Veientem alieno pavore perculsum.* Fucecchi points to Hom. *Il.* 3.395 where Venus calls Helen: τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινε.

**482 ergo** with short -*o*, not in Kösters 86; both metric forms are about equally frequent.

**ignotis ... fluctibus** cf. 5.196 *tot freta ... passum.* The Argonauts had to go (2.592) *ignota per aequora* or (Ov. *Met.* 1.134) *fluctibus ignotis* and (Ov. *Met.* 6.721 with Bömer) *per mare non notum prima ... carina*; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.50 *ignotum ... aequor*, Tib.3[Lygd.]. 6.40 and Prop. 2.26.40 *ignoto ... mari*, Luc. 6.401 *ignotas ... in undas* (said of the Argo), Liv. 1.56.6 *per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria.*

**484 (parenti) iunxisse manus** a common expression is *iungere dextram* or *iungere manum*, *e.g.* VF 1.636, in the sense of 'clasping hands'. For the required sense of 'to join our hands/bands' (cf. 5.289 *sociare manus*) there is no parallel (TLL 7.2.658.4 ff.); however, the resemblance to the same combination of words in the sense just mentioned, gives point to the expression. *iungere agmina* (182) is just the opposite ('to close in conflict', Mozley), although in 1.520 and 3.505 these words stand for 'to join forces' (cf. Verg. *A.* 4.142).

**485 (muros) turba tenet** for women, children, and the old watching the battle beneath walls cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.149 f., Verg. *A.* 11.877 *et e speculis percussae pectora matres*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.6 ff. *illum ex moenibus hosticis / matrona bellantis tyranni / prospiciens (suspiret)*, Luc. 7.369 f. *credite pendentes e summis moenibus urbis / crinibus effusis hortari in proelia matres*, Sil. 2.251 f. *conclamant matres, celsoque e culmine muri / lamentis vox mixta sonat*, Caes. *Gal.* 2.13.3 *pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.* On such a *teichoscopia* see 575-601 n. For the combination cf. Verg. *A.* 9.168 f. *haec super e vallo prospectant Troes et armis / alta tenent*, 12.705 f. *alta tenebant / moenia*, 8.657 *Galli ... arcemque tenebant*, 2.757 *Danai ... tectum omne tenebant.*

**fruiturque ... caelestibus armis** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.167 *caelestibus armis*; the weapons of Aeneas were in fact made by Vulcan, 'heavenly' is here a mere conventional echo.

*

486. tu thalamis ignava sedes, tu sola paterna
487. fixa domo, tales quando tibi cernere reges?'
488. illa nihil contra. nec enim dea passa manumque
489. implicat et rapidis mirantem passibus aufert.
490. ducitur infelix ad moenia summa futuri
491. nescia virgo mali et falsae commissa sorori,
492. lilia per vernos lucent velut alba colores
493. praecipue, quis vita brevis totusque parumper
494. floret honor, fuscis et iam Notus imminet alis.

**486 ignava** *ignara* **C** *(vet. cod.)*, recommended by Heinsius. Vossius could not believe that Medea, having met Jason already, would not know about the fighting, for which reason he is chided by Burman, who thinks her isolation as a virgin would certainly allow this. I feel that *ignava* suits the story better, underlining her passive rôle, while the question whether she knew about the battle or not is uninteresting.

**sola** cf. *sola* in 483; the repetition is similar to Verg. *A*. 4.421 ff. *Anna, ... solam nam perfidus ille te colere ...; sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras*.

**487 fixa domo** the idea of 5.240 *maneat regnis ne virgo paternis*.

**cernere** (sc. *est*). The phrase *cernere erat* occurs in Vergil (*A*. 8.676, 6.596); cf. *G*. 4.447 *neque est te fallere quicquam*, and on the use of *est* for *licet* see Sz. 2.349.

**488 illa nihil contra** (= 7.388; cf. Verg. *A*. 2.287 + *ait* in 289) <*sc. refert*> for example; cf. Verg. *A*. 10.16 *Venus aurea contra pauca refert*.

**nec enim** Courtney recommended *neque enim* (see *ad* 3.681) because the latter is more frequent, certainly so in the *Aeneid*, where *nec enim* is not found. However, this is no good reason to change the two cases of *nec enim* Mss. in VF. Sz. 452 describes the gradual increase of *nec*, more common in later Latin.

**nec ... manumque** on *nec ... -que* see Strand 70/71 where he comments on *-que*: 'In many of these cases modern languages prefer an adversative'. Also in 500 f.

**manumque (implicat)** a fairly isolated case according to TLL 7.1.643.80; cf. Verg. *A*. 2.723 f. *dextrae se parvus Iulus / implicuit*. The model is Hom. *Il*. 3.385 where Venus is asking Helen to come *down* from the wall, to bring her to her *thalamus* (Fucecchi).

**489 rapidis ... passibus aufert** Manitius referred to Verg. *A*. 7.156 f. *festinant iussi rapidisque feruntur / passibus*.

**490 ducitur infelix** cf. Verg. *A*. 11.85 *ducitur infelix aevo confectus Acoetus*, or, in particular, the five instances of *infelix Dido* in the Aeneid, *e.g.*, 4.68 *uritur infelix Dido*, the more so since *nescia virgo mali* (491) can be compared with Verg. *A*. 1.299 *fati nescia Dido* (Feeney 327 n. 42). VF 6.657 *at regina* is derived from the Dido story (see 657 n.). *infelix* for Medea occurs in 7.239 and 8.160 as well; in Ov *Met*. 7.17 f. Medea says to herself *excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammas / si potes, infelix ...*

**moenia summa** cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.40 *turribus e summis* (Scylla; Fucecchi).

**491 (futuri) nescia virgo mali** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.299 *fati nescia Dido*, 1.630 *non ignara mali* (Dido speaking), 4.508 *haud ignara futuri* (Dido), 10.501 *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae. virgo* has the *-o* short, as in 606, 671, 682, but not 754. Compare *leo* 347 n., *Iuno* 450 n., *ergo* 14 n.; Kösters 87. According to Bessone 167 note 64 Medea does not become aware of the power that has conquered her (as is the case in Ovid's tragedy *Medea*); I do not think, however, that the use of *nescia* is in itself sufficient evidence for this, the word referring to the Corinthian tragedy in the future.

**falsae ... sorori** 'the counterfeit sister'; cf. 8.266 *falsi sequimur vestigia tauri* (=Jupiter), Ov. *Met.* 3.250 *dilacerant falsi dominum sub imagine cervi* (=Actaeon), Claud. 1 *(Prob. Olybr. cos)*. 238 *falsus olor.*

**commissa** a middle use, since *se committere* can be used in the sense of 'to entrust oneself to', which would give further point to *falsae*; cf. Cic. *Rab. Post.* 23 *Dionysi, ..., cui se ille commiserat*, Liv. 40.9.12 *convivam me tibi committere ausus non sum.*

**492 lilia ... velut** the gist of the simile may be based upon Ov. *Met.* 10.190 f. *si quis ... in horto / liliaque infringat fulvis horrentia linguis* (the word *fulvus*, originally referring to the colour of the pollen, may have been applied to the wind after contamination with *Met.* 6.707 *fulvis alis* of Boreas; see below). In addition it has traits from Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.106 f. *ille, velut primos exspiraturus ad austros / mollibus in pratis alte flos improbus exstat*, 3.3.128 f. *qualia pallentes declinant lilia culmos / pubentesque rosae primis moriuntur ad austros* (with van Dam), 5.1.146 f. *sic plena maligno / adflantur vineta Noto.* Roses burnt by the dry wind occur in Stat. *Theb.* 7.223 ff. *ut cum sole malo tristique rosaria pallent / usta Noto, si clara dies Zephyrique refecit / aura polum, redit omnis honos, emissaque lucent / germina et infirmes ornat sua gloria virgas.* According to Smolenaars *ad loc.* the motif there is taken from VF; he compares the words *Noto, honos, lucent* with Valerian *Notus* (494), *honor* (494) *lucent* (492). The short life of flowers is a motif in Hom. *Il.* 8.306 f. on the poppy in spring, Catul. 11.22 ff. and Verg. *A.* 9.435 on the flower hit by a plough, Ov. *Met.* 10.190 ff. with Bömer, Smith on Tib. 1.4.29. The particular flower may also have been derived from ARh 1.879 about the Lemnian women clustering around the heroes to say goodbye 'as bees around lilies', ὡς δ' ὅτε λείρια καλὰ περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι.

VF certainly gives a sinister air to the lily's short-lived purity, till the 'Scirocco' scorches her.

**per vernos ... alba colores** there is a nice contrast between 'coloured' and 'white', as in Ov. *Met.* 5.392 *aut violas aut candida lilia* (about Proserpina), 10.212 *purpureus color his, argenteus esset in illis*, 12.410 f. *modo se violave rosave/ implicet, interdum candida lilia gestet*, Fast. 4.442 *ipsa* (Proserpina) *crocos tenues liliaque alba legit.* So the word order has the internal conflict of an oxymoron, and this in the line which follows one beginning, in the same vein, with *virgo mali*, depicting in vivid colours her immaculate innocence. *alba* may allude to the colour of Medea's hair, since she is described as an attractive blonde (granddaughter of the Sun as she is) in ARh. 3.829, VF 8.237 f. According to Fucecchi *per* alludes to the first Medea simile (5.343-349, comparison with Proserpina), *per verni iuga Hymetti*; for *vernus* cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.554 *cum legeret vernos Proserpina flores, Fast.* 4.429 *tot fuerant illic quot habet natura colores.* In both similes a shattering change in prospects occurs in only a few lines.

**493 praecipue** 'above all', 'especially'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.551 *quae praecipue fuerat pia*, Verg. *A.* 6.175 f. *ergo omnes ... clamore premebant,/ praecipue pius Aeneas.*

**vita brevis** the adage *vita brevis ars longa* may have influenced the author in view of Seneca's citing Hippocrates (*Dial.* 10(*Brev.vit.*).1.2 *inde illa maximi medicorum exclamatio est 'vitam brevam esse, longam artem'*, the original of which is found in *Aph.* 1.1 ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, ἡ δὲ πεῖρα σφαλερή, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπή.

The shortness of life plays a rôle in Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.16 *breve lilium*, 2.3.13 *nimium breves/ flores ... rosae*, Plin. *Ep.* 9.3 *nec brevem vitam caducis laboribus fatigare, ut video multos*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.58 *morituris floribus.*

**parumper** 'for a short while'; cf. Ter. *Ph.* 486 *'audi obsecro'. 'non audio'. 'parumper'. 'quin omitte me'*, Verg. *A.* 6.382 f. *pulsusque parumper/ corde dolor tristi*, Liv. 2.25.3 *parumper moratus*, Juv. 4.62 *obstitit ... turba parumper.*

**494 honor** Shey 179 stresses the moral connotations of the word, quoting Cic. *Fam.* 10.10.2 = Sh.B. 375 *honos ... perpetuae virtutis praemium.* Compare Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.9 f. *non semper idem floribus est honor/ vernis*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.225 (with Smolenaars) *redit omnis honos* (in the rose-gardens; the context is quoted above).

**fuscis ... alis** in connexion with winds cf. Sil. 12.617 f. *hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc fuscis Africus alis/ bella movent*; further Verg. *A.* 8.369 (*nox*), 7.408 (*dea* = Allecto), Ov. *Met.* 5.286 *fusca repurgato fugiebant nubila*

*caelo*. Compare also *fulvae alae* (see 492 n.): Ov. *Met.* 6.707 *(Boreas) fulvis amplectitur alis*, 5.546 *fulvis ... ab alis (bubo)*, 8.146 *fulvis haliaeetus alis.*

**Notus imminet** cf. winds harming flowers in the passages from the *Silvae* and *Thebaid* quoted above, as well as Verg. *Ecl.* 2.58 f. *floribus Austrum / .... immissi.*

*

495. hanc residens altis Hecate Perseia lucis
496. flebat et has imo referebat pectore voces:
497. 'deseris heu nostrum nemus aequalesque catervas,
498. a misera, ut Graias haud sponte vageris ad urbes.
499. non invisa tamen neque te, mea cura, relinquam.

**495-503** Complaint of Hecate, to be compared to 5.335 *visa <est> pavens castis Hecates excedere lucis*, where a dream made Medea leave the grove and foretold the separation from her father as well as the death of (her) children. She had left her goddess — for good and all. Hecate's monologue grieves for Medea, stresses "die Unfreiwilligkeit ihres Ganges" (Wetzel 83) and gives rise to dark forebodings (*magna monumenta), 500*). The model for Hecate's monoloque is ARh.4.54 ff., where Τιτηνὶς Μήνη, the Moon godddess, daughter of a Titan compares Medea's lovesickness to her own, and utters a similar dark prophecy. In the background of the complaint of Hecate is Opis promising to avenge Camilla in Verg. *A.* 11.841 ff. (see 499 n.). Bessone 157 emphasizes the influence of Ovid here (*Ep.* 12.168 *nil dea, nil Hecates sacra potentis agunt*), as witnessed by VF 7.248 *tu quoque nil, mater, prodes mihi.* In the same way 500 ff. could be inspired by Sen. *Med.* 118 ff. (Bessone 171).

**495 hanc residens ... Hecate** cf. Venus seeing Pluto approaching in Ov. *Met.* 5.363 f. *videt hunc Erycina vagantem / monte suo residens*, even if the reaction is totally different. The next line, 365, was the model for VF 6.475, so that this seems to be a case where the context reverberates further.

**altis ... lucis** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.778 *unde etiam templo Triviae lucisque sacratis*, 6.13 *subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta*, 3.681 *silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae*, Ov. *Met.* 7.74 f. *Hecates Perseidos aras / quas nemus umbrosum secretaque silvae tegebat.* The combination is Vergilian; *e.g.*, *A.* 1.692 f., 7.95, 11.456, 740. In VF 5.335 Diana complained that Medea would leave her *castis lucis*, where *castis* probably had sexual overtones relating to Medea herself.

**Hecate Perseia** the traditions concerning the ancestry of Hecate, or, for that matter, all family relationships among the Sun's progeny, differ; see Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 7.74. According to *Hom.Hymn.* 2 *(Dem.)*.24 f. her father is the Titan Persaeus, Περσαίου θυγάτηρ, .../ ...᾿Εκάτη; Diod. 4.45.1 and ARh 3.467 call him Perses. Hes. *Theog.* 409-411 names Asteria as her mother, γείνατο δ' 'Αστερίην εὐώνυμον, ἥν ποτε Πέρσης/ ἠγάγετ' ἐς μέγα δῶμα φίλην κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν./ ἣ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη 'Εκάτην τέκε; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 3.46 *quae matre Asteria est,* Apollod. 1.2.4 (ἔκγονοι ...) Πέρσου δὲ καὶ 'Αστερίας 'Εκάτη. This in contrast to Hom. *Od.* 10.139 on Circe and Aeetes: μητρός τ' ἐκ Πέρσης. Hecate is called *Perseis* in Ov. *Met.* 7.74, Sen. *Med.* 814, Stat. 4.482.

**496 (hanc) flebat** cf. Diana in Verg. *A.* 11.534 f. *has tristis Latonia voces/ ore dabat.* Fucecchi quotes Prop. 4.4.29 f. *et sua Tarpeia residens ita flevit ab arce/ vulnera.*

**imo referebat pectore voces** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.409 *tum senior talis referebat pectore voces,* 11.377=11.840 *imo pectore voces/,* VF 1.504 and 7.308 *pectore voces/.*

**497 deseris heu** cf. 3.325, Verg. *A.* 3.711.

**nostrum nemus** see 495 n. *altis lucis.*

**aequalesque catervas** cf. VF 7.179 ff. *tu fac Luciferae citus ad delubra Dianae/ deveniat, sacras solita est ubi fundere taedas/ Colchis et aequali dominam lustrare caterva* and Verg. *A.* 11.532 *unam ex virginibus sociis sacraque caterva* (around Diana) in the Opis story, 10.194 *aequalis comitatus ... catervas,* VF 5.342 *aequali ... comitante caterva.*

**498 a misera** cf. Catul. 64.71 *a misera* with Fordyce *ad loc.* for the neoteric colouring, Verg. *Ecl.* 1.15 *a! silice in nuda conixa reliquit,* 2.60 *quem fugis, a! demens?*; further *G.* 4.526 *a miseram Eurydicen,* Luc. 6.724 f. *a miser, extremum cui mortis munus inique/ eripitur.*

**Graias ... ad urbes** cf. 3.452 *Graias .. ad urbes,* 5.255 *Graiumque ... ad orbem,* 4.401 f. *per urbes/ ... Graias,* 5.46 *urbes .. Achaeas*; the phrase modelled upon Vergil *A.* 6.97, 3.295, or *Inachias ..., Tyria, ... Ausonias, Troianas ..., Phrygias ... urbe(s).*

**499 non invisa tamen M**; *iniussa* **V+L**; Ehlers: *sc. mihi es.* The spirit is the same as in Verg. *A.* 11.845 *non tamen indecorem tua te regina* (Diana = Hecate) *reliquit* (Opis speaking).

**mea cura** cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.57 *raucae, tua cura, palumbes; G.* 4.354 *ipse, ..., tua maxima cura, A.* 1.678 *mea maxima cura,* Stat. *Theb.* 7.684 *puer altera cura Lyaei*; the words may render feelings like those of Diana speaking to Opis about Camilla Verg. *A.* 11.537 *cara mihi ante alias,* 585 *cara mihi.*

*

500. magna fugae monumenta dabis, spernere nec usquam
501. mendaci captiva viro meque ille magistram
502. sentiet et raptu famulae doluisse pudendo.'
503. dixerat. ast illae murorum extrema capessunt
504. defixaeque virum lituumque fragoribus horrent.
505. quales instanti nimborum frigore maestae
506. succedunt ramis haerentque pavore volucres.

**500 magna monumenta fugae** 'things to be remembered in consequence of your flight', which comes down to 'your flight will be unforgettable', partly because of the theft of the fleece, partly because Jason, precisely because he forgot Medea's contribution, will ultimately give her an ill-fame destined to live forever. For *monumenta* cf. Verg. *A.* 6.512 *illa haec monimenta reliquit* (Deiphobus speaking), VF 8.119 *Phrixeae monumenta fugae.*

**spernere** =*sperneris*: 'you will not be despised by your husband as <only a spear-won> captive' (Hom. *Il.* 9.343 δουρικτητήν περ ἐοῦσαν). The idea of *captiva* comes from ARh. 4.400 where, o irony, it is Jason who says that all tribes of the earth are eager to lead her away as a captive, οἷα δὲ ληισθεῖσαν. Compare VF 8.16 f. *Haemonio numquam spernenda marito / condita letiferis promit medicamina cistis,* 422 *(miserere), inque tua me sperne domo.*

**501 mendaci** Jason's reputation, probably regarded by Romans in the same light as in Juv. 4.174 f. *quidquid Graecia mendax / audet in historia* or VF 8.275 *Graecia fallax*; cf. Pl. *As.* 199 *Graeca ... fide.* In Ov. *Ep.* 12.19, 37 Jason is addressed as *scelerate, perfide.*

**captiva** cf. *Peliacae ... captiva carinae* spoken by Medea in 8.417. It seems clear that there Medea is referring back to the use of the word *captiva* here, as remembered by the reader: 'Hecate had said it all along'.

**magistram** cf. Apul. *Met.* 2.5 *maga ... omnis carminis sepulchralis magistra,* VF 6.578 *Iunone magistra.*

**502 sentiet** construed first as *me magistram <esse> sentiet*, then as *sentiet raptu pudendo doluisse*, ' he will feel that as a result of this shameful robbery I have been hurt'. Cf. 4.114 f. *devectam Neptunus gurgite puppem sensit.*

**raptu famulae ... pudendo** for *famula* cf. Verg. *A.* 11.557 f. *tibi hanc, ..., Latonia virgo, / ipse pater famulam voveo. raptu pudendo* is an ablative of cause (compare Hor. *Epod.* 15.11 *o dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera*), often going with prepositions like *ab, de, pro.* For *famulus / a* as 'priest(ess)' see 642 n.

**503 dixerat. ast illae** *ast* instead of *at* for metrical reasons (see 95 n.); cf. Luc. 7.608, Stat. *Theb.* 2.410, VF 5.426 *dixerat. ast illi* against VF 3.628 *dixerat at studiis.* On *dixerat* see Harrison *ad* Verg. *A.* 10.246-7.

**murorum extrema capessunt** *capessere* with accusative of the goal of motion is fairly frequent in Vergil (*A.* 11.466 *turrisque capessant, al.*) and VF 1.74 *al.* Of the 15 instances in TLL 3.310.42 ff., 6 come from VF.

**504 defixaeque** can mean 'standing spell-bound' (as in VF 7.82), but also 'with the eyes fixed', as in VF 5.376 f. *in una / defixus* (reflexive), 4.667 *defixaque lumina ponto,*; cf. 5.312 with Wijsman, Verg. *A.* 7.249 f. *defixa ora*, 6.156 *defixus lumina*, 1.226 *Libyae defixit lumina regnis*, Luc. 6.657 f. *ipsumque trementem / conspicit exanimi defixum lumina vultu*, Ov. *Am.* 2.8.15 *ut tamen iratos in te defixit ocellos.*

**lituumque fragoribus** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.601 *et longum dant cornua mixta fragorem*, 8.343 *fragor aereus*, Luc. 1.237 f. *stridor lituum clangorque tubarum / non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.*

**505/506** birds simile: birds flock to the trees when feeling a storm coming up; cf. Luc. 1.259 f. *quantum volucres cum bruma coercet / rura silent*, Verg. *G.* 4.473 f. *(umbrae) quam multa in foliis avium se milia condunt / vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber*, *A.* 2.516 *(matres) ceu tempestate columbae sedebant.* Another simile about nestlings, Stat. *Theb.* 10.458 ff., has only superficial similarity to the present one. The pair of lines is highly profiled in being framed by *quales ... volucres*; in addition Fucecchi highlights the alliteration *fragoribus horrent* — *frigore ... haerent.*

**505 instanti nimborum frigore** cf. Pl. *Mer.* 879 *nubis ater imberque instat.*

**506 succedunt ramis** *succedere* with the dative, as in Verg. *G.* 3.418 *tecto ... succcedere et umbrae*, *A.* 1.627 *tectis ... succedite nostris*, 3.276 *parvae succedimus urbi*, VF 1.779 *succedite tectis.*

*

507. iamque Getae iamque omnis Hiber Drangeaque densa
508. strage cadit legio et latis prosternitur arvis.
509. semineces duplicesque inter sua tela suosque
510. inter equos saevam misero luctamine versant
511. congeriem et longis campos singultibus implent.
512. victores patrium contra paeana Geloni
513. congeminant, eadem redeunt mox gaudia victis
514. qua deus et melior belli respexit imago.

D.2. *507-574: resuming the story of the hostilities.*

Again 507-514 gives a general introduction; then follow sections focusing upon Absyrtus (517-523), Aron (524-541), the sons of Phryxus (542-556), Calais (557-562), and a general scene with Peucon, Eurytus, Daraps (563-574). Sections a (507-523), b (524-541) and c (542-574) comprise 17, 18 and 33 lines, respectively, much like 1:1:2.

D.2.a. *507-523 Absyrtus*
The same pattern is followed as in the first part of the hostilities (182-426): first several tribes enter the scene, then the Muse is addressed. Then Absyrtus (joint-chief with Jason in 171 but hardly heard of again in the present war) and later Aron come forward.

**507 iamque ... iamque** as in 5.84, 7.630, Verg. *G.* 3.108 (with, cited by Fucecchi, Thomas *ad loc.*).

**Getae** the Getae, living in Thrace as well as north of the Ister, enter history in the report of Herodotus (4.93-96, 118, 5.3-4), where Darius obtained their submission. In Latin literature they are first mentioned by Propertius (4.3.9, 4.5.44), as well as by Mela 2.18, Pin. *Nat.* 4.41, and in Ovid's Pontic verses. They seem to be the same as or related to the Dacian opponents of Trajan.

**omnis Hiber Drangeaque (legio)** see 106 n. The Getae, Medes and Iberians have been mentioned together by Aeetes in 5.603 f.

**508 (densa) strage cadit legio et latis prosternitur arvis** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.604 f. *videri/ iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis.* The *densa strage* must allude to the destruction of the scythed chariots in 386-426. For *prosternitur* cf.Luc. 7.534 *nec valet haec acies tantum prosternere, quantum ...*

**509 semineces** five times in the *Aeneid*, one of these 10.462 (cf. Harrison *ad loc.)*.

**duplices** 'bent double'; according to TLL 5.1.2259.39 a unique use; however, cf. Verg. *A.* 11.645 *duplicatque virum transfixa dolore*, 12.927 *duplicato poplite*, Ov. *Met.* 6.293 *duplicataque vulnere caeco est*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.89 *duplicatus in ictum.*

**510 misero luctamine** cf. 2.234 with Poortvliet.

**versant** Heinsius proposed *acervant.*

**511 congeriem** a heap of bodies, as in Stat. *Theb.* 10.476 ff. *per et arma et membra iacentum/ taetraque congerie sola semianimumque cruorem/ cornipedes ipsique ruunt.*

**longis ... singultibus implent** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.415 *longis singultibus ilia pulsat*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.682 *longis ... singultibus* (with Smolenaars). *implere* preceded by a plural ablative is frequent in Vergil: *A.* 5.341 *clamoribus implet* (combined in Stat. *Theb.* 4.382 *implet clamoribus urbem* with *A.* 11.147), 9.480 *questibus implet*, 11.448 *urbem terroribus implet*, 11.274 *vocibus implent*, while VF 4.81 has *hortatibus implet.* Compare Ov. *Met.* 1.245 *adsensibus implent* and VF 6.566, 630, 712, 726, 738.

**512 ff.** '<Elsewhere ...>' (compare *qua* (514), 'where').

**512** Much like a golden line, but with, instead of a verb in the middle, a preposition used as an adverb. (For golden lines see 1 n.). The words *Geloni* and, in apposition, *victores* flank the line (see 155 n.).

**contra** it would be natural to think of the Getae and Iberians just mentioned as victims of the party *contra.* However, the Geloni fight on the same side, that of Perses. Therefore *contra* must here refer not to an opposing camp but to an opposite situation: just as the Getae lost, so elsewhere on the battlefield the Geloni are winning and singing for joy. The pair of lines 512/513 is iconic for the situation: *victores ... contra ... victis.*

**paeana** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.738 *conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti.* For *patrium paeana* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.285 *patriis concentibus* with Smolenaars.

**Geloni** a tribe in Thrace, according to Herodotus (4.108) settled and influenced by the Greek colonies on their coast. They are mentioned by Herodot. 4.102, 108, 109, 119, 120, 136, Vergil (*G.* 2.115, 3.461, *A.* 8.725), as well as in Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.23 (cf. Nisbet/Hubbard *ad loc.)*, Sen. *Oed.* 478, Luc. 3.283, Mela 2.14, Grat. 157.

**513/514** in the *florilegia* these lines appear in the form of *redeunt tandem sua gaudia victis / quos deus et melior belli respexit imago*, in which *quos* replaces *qua* Mss.

**513 (paeana) congeminant** many things can be redoubled, such as (after Langen) *securim* (Verg. *A.* 11.698, VF 6.379), *ictus* (Verg. *A.* 12.714, VF 2.535 with Poortvliet), *sonitus* (Sil. 3.196), *suspiria* (Sil 16.267), *sibila* (Stat. *Theb.* 1.116), *fragorem* (Verg. *A.* 6.41, VF 4.71 with Korn); cf. Verg. *A.* 5.227 *ingeminat clamor*, *G.* 1.410 f. *voces / ...ingeminant*, 2.508 f. *plausus ... / ... geminatus.*

**redeunt mox gaudia victis** Ehlers quotes a *florilegium* reading *redeunt tandem sua gaudia* (see 513/514 above).

**514 deus** Strand 104 prefers to think of 'God', 'heaven' (Mozley), 'providence' rather than of Mars. *melior* belongs both to *deus* and *imago*, but has the function of an adverb.

**qua deus et melior** is similar to Ov. *Met.* 1.21 *hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit.* For *deus melior respexit* cf. (from OLD 8b) Calp. *Ecl.* 4.164 f. *respiciat nostros utinam fortuna labores / pulchrior.*

**belli imago** 'scenes of war'; cf. 6.659 *imagine pugnae*, Verg. *A.* 8.557 *et maior Martis iam apparet imago*, 2.369 *plurima mortis imago*, 12.560 *continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago* ('a plan for war on a larger scale'), Stat. *Theb.* 7.808 *belli .... imago* with Smolenaars ('A genitive with '*imago*' is a favourite epicism'), *Ach.* 2.130 *feri Mavortis imago.* Leo 958 takes *melior* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ both with *deus* and with *imago*, explaining the choice of *imago* as influenced by the verb *respexit*, and translates: "der günstigere Gott gibt der Schlacht ein günstigeres Ansehen". *imago* probably has overtones of 'perspectives'.

*

515. quis tales obitus dederit, quis talia facta,
516. dic age tuque feri reminiscere, Musa, furoris.
517. Absyrtus clipei radiis curruque coruscus
518. Solis avi (cuius vibrantem comminus hastam
519. cernere nec galeam gentes potuere minantem,
520. sed trepidae redeunt et verso vulnera tergo
521. accipiunt magnisque fugam clamoribus augent)
522. proterit impulsu gravis agmina corporaque atris
523. sternit equis gemitusque premit spirantis acervi.

**515/516** Invocation of the Muses again, as in 6.33; there introducing the catalogue, now, after the interlude, resuming the tale of battle and blood. For *dic age* compare 33 n. *reminiscere, Musa,* seems derived from Verg. *A.* 7.641 ff. *(meministis enim, divae)*, while the construction with *quis tales, ... quis* also seems related to Vergilian *qui ..., quae quemque, ...quibus ..., quibus. quos tales obitus dederit* may be related to Verg. *A.* 9.526 f. *quae funera Turnus/ ediderit.* In the *Iliad* there are similar short invocations, such as 11.218-220, 16.112-113. In the *Thebaid* after a peaceful interlude war is rekindled and battle-scenes described after an invocation of the Muses in 7.628 ff. (with Smolenaars); in 8.373 at the onset of the ἀριστεία of Tydeus Calliope is invoked.

**515 obitus dederit** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.246 f. *funera .../ ursi stragemque dedere, A.* 8.570 f. *dedisset funera.*

**talia facta** *facta* for 'exploits', as in Verg. *A.* 8.516, 8.288 (of Hercules), *Ecl.* 4.54 *tua dicere facta, A.* 10.281 f. *magna referto / facta,* 1.641 *fortia facta patrum.*

**516 dic age** cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.50 *dic age, Calliope,* Ov. *Fast.* 2.269 *dicite, Pierides.*

**feri** a fine reading from **C**, for *veri* **V+L**. The combination *ferus furor* is not found elsewhere.

**517 Absyrtus** brother of Medea; see Wijsman *ad* 5.457. His is the first name in the catalogue of the Colchian side (171), and so here he is mentioned first after the second invovation of the Muses.

**Absyrtus ... coruscus** another line framed by attribute and substantive; see 155 n. and compare 512.

**clipei radiis curruque coruscus** the grandson of the Sun god apparently uses the chariot, or one of the chariots, of his grandfather (cf. ARh 3.309 (Aeetes) πατρὸς ἐν ἅρμασιν 'Ηελίοιο). The gleams of his chariot and weapons can be compared with the resplendence of the Sun's whole palace as described in Ov. *Met.* 2.1-5. People flee from shining weapons in Hom. *Il.* 22.25-34 (like Sirius), followed by Verg. *Aen.* 10.270-275. The Sun's family was distinguished by eyes radiant with golden gleams, according to ARh 4.727 ff. On possible influence upon Sedulius see 752 n.

Alliteration with variable inserted vowel, as described by Ceccarelli (1986), is more frequent in Book 5 than in Book 6. *curruque coruscus* is a clear instance; 694 f. *simul/ semivir* may be added. I have extended the

phenomenon to cases with 'zero' vowel (Wijsman *ad* VF 5.325); in 1 f. *acri/ corde* and 189 *correpto crine* the *cr* combination may bc the alliterating unit.

**518 Solis avi** cf. 5.223 *Soligenae*, 8.459 *Solis avi* (of Medea), Verg. *A.* 12.164 *Solis avi specimen* (of Latinus, son of Circe).

**vibrantem ... hastam** cf. 8.449 = Stat. *Theb.* 6.223 = Sil.17.406 *vibrantibus hastis*, Ov. *Met.* 12.79 *vibrantia tela.*

**519 cernere nec ... gentes potuere** 'they could not keep their eyes fixed upon'. *gentes* may have overtones of 'the people','the various nations' (as in Stat. *Ach.* 1.206 f. *hospita Delos/ gentibus*, Sen. *Her.O.* 1684 f. *quis illo gentibus voltu dedit/ leges tyrannus*), but is primarily 'mankind, men', in contrast to the gods; cf. VF 6.721, Verg. *A.* 11.847 *per gentis*, VF 4.346 *tuis nondum dea gentibus*, 5.642 *colimur ... gentibus*, Sil. 9.536 f. *ut noscant gentes immania quantum/ regna Iovis valeant.*

**galeam minantem** cf. 7.577 *galeamque minantem*, (Langen) Hom. *Il.* 3.337 δεινὸν δε λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν, 6.470 (λόφον) δεινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας, Stat. *Theb.* 4.204 f. *minanti/ casside*, (Stadler) Verg. *A.* 8.620 *terribilem cristis galeam.*

**520 (gentes) trepidae redeunt** cf. Caes. *Gal.* 5.58.6 *redeuntes equites quos possunt consectantur et occidunt.*

**vulnera tergo (accipiunt)** cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.211 f. *inhonestaque vulnera tergo/ accipiunt* (against the 300 Fabii), based upon Verg. *A.* 3.242 f. *nec vulnera tergo/ accipiunt.* See also 726 n.

**521 clamoribus augent** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.341 *clamoribus implet*, 10.713 *clamoribus instant*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.382 (with 511 n.) *implet clamoribus urbem*, 5.96 *clamoribus urbem*, 8.204 *clangoribus aether*, 10.552 *clangoribus urbem.*

**522 proterit ... agmina** cf. 195, 414 with nn., Verg. *A.* 12.329 *agmina curru/ proterit.*

**impulsu gravis** enallage; cf. Verg. *A.* 5.274 *gravis ictu* (Fucecchi); cf. further *A.* 12.334 f. *gemit ultima pulsu/ Thraca pedum* (of the horses of Mars).

**atris (equis)** *black* horses in the context of the Sun is unlikely. Accordingly a few conjectures have been proposed: *altis* Balbus (*teste*

Baehrens) and Schenkl (independently), *actis* Heinsius, *albis* Damsté. Burman, Fr.Reuss, and Courtney, have defended *atris* on the grounds that black is the colour of blood and dirt; cf. 415 *atroque in pulvere.* For 'black' as the colour of blood cf. Verg. *G.* 3.221, 3.507, *A.* 2.271 f., 3.28, 3.33, 3.622, 3.626, 4.687, 9.333, 9.472, 11.646, 12.450 *atrum ... agmen* (with 12.444 f. *tum caeco pulvere campus / miscetur).* In addition black is the colour of ominous things, as in VF 2.205 *atraeque ... Irae,* 6.111 *agmine nigro,* Verg. G. 4.407 *atraque tigris,* A. 11.28, 6.429 (and VF 5.41) *atra dies,* 12.335 *atrae Formidinis,* 9.719 *atrumque Timorem,* 3.64 and 6.215 of funeral branches, and *mors,* as in Hor. *S.* 2.7.115. In 1.13 VF speaks of *nigrantem pulvere.* Fucecchi cites the *adynaton* of black horses for the Sun in Prop. 2.15.32.

**523 (corpora) sternit** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.118 f. *Rutuli ... instant sternere caede viros,* 12.943 f. *Pallantis ... quem vulnere Turnus / straverat,* Stat. *Theb.* 7.755 *sternuntur terra Menaleus pedes, Antiphus ...*

**gemitusque premit** *premere* for 'to trample on', as in Verg. *A.* 2.379 f. *veluti qui sentibus anguem / pressit humi nitens,* Prop. 3.9.41 f. *moenia cum Graio Neptunia pressit aratro,* Ov. *Met.* 8.869 *dominus pede pressit harenam.* With *gemitus,* the abstract for 'the groaning military', *premere* is unusual and refined.

**spirantis acervi** *acervus* for a heap of dead bodies also in, *e.g.,* 6.596 *quantisque insultet acervis,* Cic. *Cat.* 4.11 *miseros atque insepultos acervos civium,* Catul. 64.359 *iter caesis angustans corporum acervis,* Verg. *A.* 10.245 *ingentis ... caedis acervos,* Luc. 7.791 *sidentes in tabem spectat acervos,* Stat. *Theb.* 10.655 *exanimes circum cumulantur acervi,* Sil. 2.688 *laceros inter ... acervos.*

*

524 nec levior comitatur Aron, horrentia cuius
525. discolor arma super squalentesque aere lacertos
526. barbarica chlamys ardet acu tremefactaque vento
527. implet equum, qualis roseis it Lucifer alis,
528. quem Venus inlustri gaudet producere caelo.

D.2.b. *524-541. Scene around rustic Armes.*
A Scythian cattle thief is killed by Aron.

**524 ff** 'and Aron accompanies him, not less powerful, upon whose horrifying weapons and arms crusted with mail a multicoloured coat

blazes, of barbaric <golden> needlework, that quivering in the wind covers the horse completely', etc. (*super*, as if poured over). Aron is eventually compared to Lucifer; in the same way *Pallas it medio chalmyde et pictis conspectus in armis* (Verg. *A.* 8.587 f.) and is consequently compared to Lucifer. Other 'effeminate Orientals' are listed in 699 n.

**524 nec levior** cf. Sil. 5.3.63 *haud levior fama Synhalus* (a doctor), Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.108 *numina iam facto non leviora deo* (Tiberius and Livia).

**comitatur** Harrison *ad* Verg. *A.* 10.126: 'the verb belongs to catalogue language'; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.681.

**Aron** cf. 5.587 ff. with Wijsman. There he is wearing a *horrida signis chlamys* (see next lines).

**horrentia (arma)** cf. 6.175 (the aegis) *horrentem colubris*, Enn. *Ann.* V 285=S 267 *horrentia tela virorum*, Ps.Verg. *A.* 4 (Donatus *Vita* 42 and Servius) *at nunc horrentia Martis (arma)*, Verg. *A.* 10.178 *horrentibus hastis*, VF 1.485 f. *Acastum/ horrentem iaculis*, 3.87 *densis thoracibus horrens*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.385 *(Eteoclea) saeptumque horrentibus armis*, Sil. 1.527 *horrentia tela.*

**525 discolor (... chlamys)** for multicoloured clothes cf. Luc. 6.654 f. *discolor et vario furialis cultus amictu/ induitur*, Curt. 3.3.26 ... *equis virisque non auro, non discolori veste fulgentibus, sed ferro atque aere* (there as here to depict the highly-coloured world of the East; notice Pallas' *picta arma*).

**super** Fucecchi refers to Verg. *A.* 2.721 f. *latos umeros subiectaque colla/ veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis.*

**squalentes aere** for the rough surface of a mail coat, as in Verg. *G.* 4.91 *maculis auro squalentibus*, *A.* 10.314 *tunicam squalentem auro*, 12.87 *auro squalentem loricam*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.354 f. *squalentia texta/ thoracum*, *Ach.* 1.431 f. *mille catenis/ squalentes nectat tunicas.*

**526 clamys ardet** Pius (*arcet* **V+L**); cf. Verg. *A.* 4.262 *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena* (with VF 3.340 *ardentes murice vestes)*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.438 *chlamys huic, chlamys ardet et illi. ardere*, 'to be fiery red' of a fabric coloured with purple, as in 6.708, 1.427, Sil. 17.395.

**acu** 'embroidery' (the concrete for the abstract); cf. 2.410 f. *sacra/ pressit acu*, Verg. *A.* 9.582 *pictus acu chlamydem*, 11.777 (Chloreus), Ov. *Met.* 6.23 *seu pingebat acu, scires a pallade doctam* (Ariadne), Sil. 7.80 f. *acu et subtemine fulvo/ quod nostrae nevere manus*, Plin. *Nat.* 8.196 *acu facere id* (sc. *pictae vestes*) *Phryges invenerunt; ideoque Phrygioniae appellatae sunt.*

**tremefactaque vento** *tumefacta* '*alii*' *ap.* Pius (printed by Baehrens and Bury). In spite of this fine conjecture there are grounds for retaining *tremefacta* Mss.: Ov. *Met.* 2.875 *tremulae sinuantur flamine vestes*, Lucr. 4.77 *(vela) trementia fluitant.*

**527 implet equum** construe as *vento impleta chlamys obtegit equum. implet equum* is enallage; the horse is not itself filled, as is the peacock in Ov. *Met.* 1.723 *gemmis caudam stellantibus implet.*

**qualis** a simile after Verg. *A.* 8.587 ff. *Pallas/ it (**in** codd.) medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis./ qualis ubi Oceano perfusus Lucifer unda,/ quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,/ extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.* The simile is short, *producere* gives a fine new touch, but here again the reader has to think of Vergil to give the bare simile more clothing: the love Venus feels for Lucifer, his *os sacrum* emerging from the sea (the actual birth of Venus from the sea), his bringing light into the darkness.

**roseis ... alis** it is as if the rosy colour (of the red mantle 'on fire') is derived from the dawn or twilight in which the planet of Venus is seen. *roseus* with reference to *Aurora* in VF 2.261, Verg. *A.* 7.26 *in roseis ... bigis*, 6.535 *roseis ... quadrigis*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.714 *Memnonis in roseis lutea mater equis.* Lucifer is also *roseus* in Stat. *Theb.* 2.137 f. *illi (to Aurora) roseus per nubila seras/ advertit flammas alienumque aethera tardo/ Lucifer exit equo.*

**it Lucifer** *it* with a personal name is not common, though considerably more so in Statius than in Vergil, VF, or Silius: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.164 *bigis it Turnus in albis*, VF 5.89 *it Sthenelus*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.59 *it comes ... Ephyre*, 6.346 *it Chromis Hippodamusque.*

**Lucifer** the Morning Star, name of the planet Venus when rising just before the sun in the morning. Lucifer sparkles in Sil. 7.639 f. *(fulgebat gemma) qualis ubi Oceano renovatus Lucifer unda/ laudatur Veneri et certat maioribus astris* (as if there were any star brighter than the planet Venus). The comparison of Cleadas, clad in purple, with Lucifer may have been influenced by VF, but a model (for both) has certainly been Verg. *A.* 8.589 f. quoted above. Lucifer figures in epic poetry in various places; surveys are given by Smith *ad* Tib. 1.9.62 and by Bardon (109). In its adjectival form the name is derived from φαεσφόρος Ἠώς as used in ARh 4.885 (after the tragedians, who also used φωσφόρος). In Hom. *Il.* 23.226 he is Ἑωσφόρος. On the iconographical aspects see Fucecchi *ad loc.*

**528 quem Venus gaudet producere** as if Venus were a stage-director bringing forward a chief actor, the expression the more remarkable since Lucifer as the morning star is simply an aspect of the planet

Venus. The words are a creative imitation of Lucr. 4.1223 *inde Venus varia producit sorte figuras*, where Venus out of the traits of the ancestors produces new recombinations, through the sexual breeding that constitutes her field of interest. *producere* is used of an actor in Cic. *Quinct.* 30. As far as celestial phenomena are concerned *producere* is used in Man. 5.364 *Arcitenens cum se totum produxerit undis*, 4.535 f., 5.525 f.; Fucecchi refers to the young birds learning to fly in VF 7.376 f., itself based upon Ov. *Met.* 8.214. Cf. also 752 *nox ...astriferas profert ... umbras.*

**inlustri ... caelo** 'a bright sky' (clouds would render Venus invisible). The night can be lit by stars.

*

529. at non inde procul Rambelus et acer Otaxes
530. dispulerant Colchos pariterque inglorius Armes
531. fraude nova stabula et furtis adsuetus inultis
532. depopulare greges frontem cum cornibus auxit
533. hispidus inque dei latuit terrore Lycaei;
534. hac tunc attonitos facie defixerat hostes.

**529 at** *ed.* 1503 for *et* **V+L.**

**Rambelus** Heeren produces some arguments for considering Rambelus a Thracian name. On the other hand, Pape-Benseler's lexicon mentions 'Ραμβαῖοι, *ein nomadisches Volk in Syrien*, Strabo C753= 16.2.10; 'Ραμβάκας ὁ Μῆδος figures in Xen. *Cyrop.* 5.3.42, while 'Ραμβάκια is a village in Beluchistan (Arr. *Anab. Alex.* 6.21.5).

**Otaxes** cf. 121 *Otaces.* Are they identical? Despite the slight differences between the names in the Mss., it is easier to assume that the same person is involved; after all, most persons named in the catalogue recur later. We will never know the right spelling. Heeren 18 speaks of a *variata forma.*

**530 dispulerant** cf. 3.88 f. *stat manus quam nec ... virgo* (Pallas)/ *dispulerit nec ...*; Verg. *A.* 1.538 + Serv. '*dispulit, id est dispersit*'.

**inglorius Armes** Gronovius and Heinsius conjectured *Armes*, which, because of the connexion with *Armenia,* makes much better sense than *Armis* **V+L.** *Armes* is written in the margin of Gronovius' own copy of Carrio's edition of 1565 in the Library of Amsterdam University (Carrio printed *Armis*). The ending of Verg. *A.* 10.52 *positis inglorius armis* certainly does *not* support the reading *Armis*, since there can be no comparison between Aeneas and the thief Armes.

**531 fraude nova** in the course of the story it becomes clear that Armes, in the disguise of a monster *sive* the god Pan, induced *panic* in people, then robbing their cattle or sheep. Pan is at work in 3.46 ff. where his voice strikes terror into the citizens of Cyzicus into terror. The peculiar attire of Armes is parallelled by Vergil's Ornytus (see below) or Theron in Sil. 2.149 ff. with a gaping lion's mouth upon his head. — For the combination cf. (TLL 6.1.1289.28) Claud. 26 (*Bell.Goth.*).282 *si fraude nova vel valle reperto / barbarus ... invaderet ... Alpes.*

**adsuetus (... depopulare)** for *adsuescere* going with infinitive cf., *e.g.*, Verg. *A.* 9. 511 *adsueti longo muros defendere bello.*

**532 depopulare** there seems to be a slight change in construction, because robbing 'stables' is different from robbing 'sheep': the latter are taken away. *stabula et greges* can be considered a hendiadys. *depopulare* and *depopulari* are used indiscriminately: the active form in VF 4.429 *(Harpyiae <eum>) depopulant*, Liv. 34.20.2 *depopulatorum subitis incursionibus sociorum*, the deponent form in Liv. 32.21.17 *Philippus Aetolos ... depopularetur*, 27.29.9 *quos ... et Aetoli ... depopulati erant.*

**cornibus** for Pan's horns cf. *Hom.Hymn.* 19*(Pan)*.2 δικέρωτα, Ov. *Met.* 14.638 *pinu praecincti cornua Panes*, *Fast.* 3.312 *quatiens cornua Faunus* (having traits of Pan), Stat. *Silv.* 2.3.11 *(Pholoe) nunc hirtos gressos, nunc improba cornua vitat* (Pan's). *cum* ('when, since') is placed a little deceptively.

**533 hispidus** Armes is *hispidus* because wearing a goat's hide, in keeping with Pan's horns; Pan is *hirte, hirsute* in *Anth.* (Riese) 682.8. *hispidus* is used for a goat in Mart 3.58.37; for Pan's beard Sil. 13.333 *imoque cadit barba hispida mento.*

**dei ... terrore Lycaei** cf. Verg. *A.* 8.344 *Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.* Lycaeus is used as a synonym of 'Arcadian' (= 'of Mount Lycaeum', Verg. *G.* 4.539, *Ecl.* 10.15, Ov. *Met.* 1.217), and applied by the Greeks to Zeus (Pind. *Ol.* 9.96/145), by the Romans to Pan (Liv. 1.5.2 *iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes*, Verg. *G.* 1.16 f. *ipse nemus linguens patrium saltusque Lycaei / Pan, ovium custos*, 3.314 *(hirci) pascuntur vero silvas et summa Lycaei*, Ov. *Met.* 1.698 f. *redeuntem colle Lycaeo / Pan videt hanc.* 'Panic' occurs in VF 3.46 ff.

**latuit terrore** he was 'hiding in the guise of <the god of> panic'.

**534 defixerat** 'he had rendered them incapable of movement', with overtones of 'he kept them as if bewitched'; compare for the first

Liv. 7.10.12 *defixerat pavor cum admiratione Gallos* (cf. VF 3.74 *Minyas anceps fixit pavor*). The verb is frequent in VF (12 times) against 9 times in the *Aeneid*.

*

535. quem simul ac nota formidine bella moventem
536. vidit Aron, 'pavidos te' inquit 'nunc rere magistros
537. et stolidum petiisse pecus? non pascua nec spes
538. hic tibi: nocturnis mitte haec simulacra rapinis
539. neve deum mihi finge; deus quoque consere dextram'.
540. sic ait intentaque adiutum missile planta
541. derigit et lapsis patuerunt vulnera villis.

**535 ac nota formidine** *agnota* **V+L**, *ac nota* Burman, *ignota ed. Iunt.* 1503. Thilo, Schenkl, Langen printed *ignota*; all other recent editors *simul ac nota formidine*, which can be understood as 'his well-known 'panic''. *agnota* occurs only once (in Pacuvius): the regular form is *agnita*. What there is to be forgiven (*ignota*) I fail to see. Fucecchi refers to 4.284 *noto hoste*.

**bella moventem** according to TLL 2.1838.40 ff. after Cic. and Sall. (once each) rarely in Livy, absent from Tacitus, but found in most poets (Verg. *G.* 1.509, *A.* 6.820, 10.626, 12.333, Hor., Ov., Luc., Stat., Sil.).

**536** Aron chiding rustic Armes has a model in Verg. *A.* 11.686 *silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?*, where Camilla is addressing Ornytus, *cui pellis umeros operit, caput hiatus et malae texere lupi*, whom she has fatally wounded first.

**magistros** cf. (of sheep) Verg. *Ecl.* 2.33 *Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros*, 3.101, *G.* 2.529 *pecorisque magistris*, VF 7.400, (of bulls) *A.* 12.717 *pavidi cessere magistri*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.61.

**537 stolidum ... pecus** cf. Prop. 2.16.8 *stolidum ... pecus.*

**non pascua nec spes** *nec bos* ed. 1498, *nexos* **V+L**, *nec spes* **C** (*vet. cod.*). In view of the manuscript authority of *spes* only good arguments for *bos* can overthrow *spes*. I think that the sequence *non ... nec* implies a different grammatical status for *pascua* and *spes* (*bos*). Samuelsson 1905:98 suggested *nec mos ... nocturnus*. Whether we take *pascua* as 'cattle' (434 n.) or (more likely) as 'meadows', the phrase may be interpreted as 'the battle field is not a cattle field; accordingly, you should not look forward to booty'.

**538** A difficult passage; witness Burman's sombre comments *sed puto adhuc ulcus latere in ultima voce.* **V+L** read *simulacra panis*, which does not scan; the Editio Princeps conjectured *simulacraque Panis*, which was followed by some of the early Italian editions. In 1498 this was changed to *simulacraque Panos*, which was in its turn followed by some other emendations. Pius, 1519, conjectured *simulacra rapinis* and, as Courtney rightly observed, the loss of one syllable in the sequence *-ra ra-* is easily explained.
Ehlers printed *nocturni* (Heinsius) *simulamina Panis*, a conjecture of Heinsius (very hesitantly: "*simulacraque panis, forte simulacra pavoris, vel simulamina Panis*"); all the other nine recent editors have printed *simulacra rapinis*, conjectured by Pius but also found by Carrio in the *vetus codex.* In fact, because the genitive of *Pan* is *Panos* and because *simulamen* is an extremely rare word (found twice, Ov. *Met.* 10.727, Aus. 10(*Mos.*).228, with *simulacra* in line 227), I see no good reason to adopt the conjecture *simulamina Panis. nocturnis* (**V+L+C**) *simulacra rapinis*, then, is the most conservative variant. *rapina*, '(the carrying off of) booty' is a word in general use, so the phrase can be paraphrased as 'let go this apparel as if you were on one of your nocturnal raids', where *simulacra* can stand for 'disguise' (OLD) while *rapinis* can be taken as the dative which often follows words derived from *simulare.*

**539 neve deum mihi finge** 'do not pose as a god', with *mihi* as an ethic dative, 'please'. Compare Stat. *Theb.* 9.152 *(Tisiphone) Inachium fingebat Halyn*; Apul. *Met.* 11.8 *(qui) hircino barbitio philosophum fingeret*, Ov. *Rem.* 504 *qui poterit sanum fingere, sanus erit.* This is followed by *deus quoque consere dextram*, derogatory 'now in addition show us how this god can fight'.

**consere dextram** ed. 1498; *dextra* **V+L**. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9.741 *et consere dextram*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.60 *conseruntque dextras*; see 182 n.

**540 intentaque ... planta** the flight of the missile is enhanced 'by the foot placed a little bit forward'; cf. Sil. 5.325 f. *telum ... / adiutum nisu.* Fucecchi adduces *cursum tendere, gressum tendere.*

**541** Suddenly the end is there, the deadly spear has penetrated through the goat-skin.

**(missile) derigit** for *derigere* = *dirigere*, 'to direct a missile' cf. 1.569 *direxit per inane facem (derexit* Baehrens!), Verg. *A.* 10.401 *derexerat hastam*, Luc. 9.676 *(Pallas) derigit harpen.*

**villis** shaggy hair, but more often wool as in Cic. *N.D.* 2.121, Verg. *G.* 3.386 (wool), Ov. *Ars.* 3.335; here referring to loose goat-skins.

*

542. nec minus Aeolii proles Aeetia Phrixi
543. fertur et ipsa furens ac se modo laeta Cytaeis
544. agminibus, modo cognatis ostentat Achivis.

D.2.c. *542-574: Jason steps in.*
Jason has waited for his chance. First he praises his cousins; then he begins a real aristeia. After Medea has been induced by Juno to take notice of him, the account will be resumed in 602-656.

**542 nec minus** see 350 n.

**Aeolii proles Aeetia Phrixi** half Greek, half Colchian (they are going to assist now the Cytaean party, now the Greek one (543/544). Two sons are mentioned in Book 6: Melas (196) and Argus (553). In addition ARh speaks of Cytissorus and Phrontis (2.1155 f.). Accordingly all four figure in VF 5.460 ff. The true heirs of Phrixus are shrouded in mystery; it would have been best for VF to ignore them, but they are part of the original story, so he reserves a minor rôle for them.
Phrixus and Helle were children of Athamas and Nephele; Athamas was one of the sons of Aeolus (with Sisyphus, Salmoneus, Cretheus). *Aeolius* is a papponymicum. Compare *Aeolidae* for Athamas and brothers, *Aeolides* applied to Phrixus in 1.286, *Aeolius* in 8.79, 7.54, 7.517 referring to the ram (with Mart. 8.28.20 and 8.51.9 *Aeolio vellere Phrixi* ), *Aeolia* for Helle in Ov. *Tr.* 1.10.15.

**Aeetius** is a very Valerian word, only found here and in 6.267, 6.691, 7.565, 8.379.

**543 fertur ... furens** *ferri* for 'to proceed' is frequent and found, for instance, in 3.588 ff. *velut ... sanguineus... leo ... fertur, .... sic Tirynthius ... fertur et ... decurrit montibus* or Verg. *A.* 2.511 *(Priamus) ... densos fertur moriturus in hostis.* The alliterating combination occurs in Verg. *A.* 2.498 *fertur in arva furens.*

**et ipsa** frequent in VF, as well as in Vergil.

**544 (se laeta) ostentat** the reflexive use (TLL 9.2.1146.32 ff.) not too frequent; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3.38.3 *se ... comem ... ostendet.*

*

545. atque hos in medio duri discrimine belli
546. laudibus inque ipsis gaudens ubi vidit Iason
547. 'macte' ait 'o nostrum genus et iam certa propago
548. Aeoliae nec opina domus. sat magna laborum
549. dona fero, satis hoc visu quaecumque rependo'.

**545 duri discrimine belli** Verg. *A.* 10.146 *duri certamina belli*, Luc. 5.723 *duri ... discrimina Martis*, Ov. *Met.* 13.296 *duri ... munera belli*, VF 6.298 *durae ... pugnae* (see n.), Stat. *Theb.* 9.566 *dura belli vice.*

**546 laudibus inque ipsis** '(rejoicing) in praiseworthy deeds'; cf. Verg. *A.* 1.461 *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi* (with Servius: *laudi virtuti ut ...<5.355>)*, 9.252 f. *quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis/ praemia* (with Servius: *id est virtutibus: ab eo quod praecedit id quod sequitur)*, 10.281 f. *magna referto / facta, patrum laudes.*

**gaudens ubi vidit** cf 7.495 f. *teque tuo longe fulgentem vellere gaudens/ spectat ... Graecia. ubi* is postponed to the 11th position.

**547 macte** as an expression of praise, normally (TLL 8.24.4 ff.) going with an ablative (*e.g.*, Verg. *A.* 9.641 (*macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra*), but sometimes absolute, as in Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.166 *macte animis opibusque meos imitate labores*, 4.8.14 *macte, o iuvenis, qui ...*, Sil. 4.475 *macte, o macte indole sacra, vera Iovis proles!*. Some remarks on *macte* are found in van Dam 252. The whole line has much in common with 4.327 *salve vera Iovis, vera o Iovis ... proles* (to Pollux). —Jason plays here the rôle of Apollo in Verg. *A.* 9.638 ff. praising young Ascanius.

**o nostrum genus** cf. 5.503 f. *seu ... deumque/ nos genus ... sensere*; Fucecchi refers to ARh 2.1160 Ἠ ἄρα δὴ γνωτοὶ πατρώιοι ἄμμιν ἐόντες ...

**certa propago** cf. (from TLL 3.918.12 ff.) Verg. *A.* 6.322 *deum certissima proles*, Sen. *Tro.* 461 *magni certa progenies patris*, VF 2.317 *(Polyxo) non patriam, non certa genus.*

**548 Aoliae ...domus** on Aeolus see 542 n.

**nec opina** 'not conjectural, not supposed'; found only here according to OLD and TLL, who refer to *necopinus* althought this word has other connotations ('unsuspecting' and 'unforeseen', = *inopinus*). Compare Cic. *Arch.* 8 *Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire ... dicit*, *Mur.* 61 *sapientem nihil opinari*, Quint. *Inst.* 2.17.38 *quod si ratio efficit, ut haec non opinari sed propter vim probationum scire videantur, ...*

**549 (laborum) dona** also in cf 7.417 f. (and, according to TLL 5.1.2021.78 not elsewhere). Fucecchi gives references for the Herculean connotations of *labores.*

**dona fero** as in Ov. *Ep.* 17.222 *donaque ... feram, Fast.* 3.506 *qualia dona fero,* Sil. 16.523 *fert donum insigne* (from TLL 5.1.2022.82 ff.).

**satis hoc visu** cf. 8.453 *hoc visu contenta mori*[23]; probably the model for Stat. *Theb.* 7.367 *hoc satis, et fessum vita dimittite, Parcae.* In our Christian world the feeling is found in Simeons's eulogy *Ev.Luc.* 2.29 f. νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλον σου, δέσποτα, ... ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριον σου.

**quaecumque** is more expressive by what it does not enumerate.

*

550. dixit et in Sueten magnique in fata Ceramni
551. emicuit clipeumque rotans hunc poplite caeso
552. deicit, illum aperit lato per pectus hiatu.
553. Argus utrumque ab equis ingenti porrigit arvo
554. et Zacorum et Phalcen, peditem pedes haurit Amastrum.

**550-552** the scene — with *hunc ..., illum* — seems ultimately modelled upon Hom. *Il.* 20.460-462 αὐταρ ὅ Λαόγονον καὶ Δάρδανον, υἷε Βίαντος, ἄμφω ἐφορμηθεὶς ἐξ ἵππων ὦσε χαμᾶζε, τὸν μὲν δουρὶ βαλών, τὸν δὲ σχεδὸν ἄορι τύψας. Similarly, in ARh 2.106 ff. Pollux attacks two Bebrycians, the one he hit under the breast, the other with the fist under his eyebrow.

**550 dixit et** closing a speech 12 times in VF; cf. *dixerat. ast* in 503.

**Sueten** Heeren 21 praises Schrader's *Seuthen* but concludes that a change is necessary. *Seuthes* is a royal name in Odrysian Thrace (Thuc. 2.97, Xen. *An.* 7.1.5., Liv. 42.51.10).

**Ceramni** in view of κέραμος, 'potter's clay', this may have been an ordinary Greek name.

**551 clipeumque rotans** Langen remarks that this is because Calais has to face two opponents.

---

[23] Would it be too romantic a vision to suppose that Valerius did indeed never finish the *Argonautica,* tottered in failing health through the last lines, and set down in *hoc visu contentus mori* the experience of his own?

**poplite caeso** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.762 f. *succiso poplite Gygen/ excipit,* 10.699 f. *poplite Palmum/ succiso volvi segnem sinit,* Sil. 5.547 *poplite caeso.*

**552 deicit** see 194 n.

**illum aperit** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.314 *latus haurit apertum,* Sen. *Dial.* 3 *(IraI).*2.2 *regalem aperire iugulum,* Gel. 10.10.2 *insectis apertisque humanis corporibus.* Normally a part of the body is mentioned (*iugulum,* Ov. *Ep.* 8.53 or Luc. 6.555, *caput,* Juv. 9.98), not, as here, a person. Langen compares *recludere pectus* (Hor. *Epod* 17.71, Verg. *A.* 10.601, Stat. *Theb.* 5.252 f. and *reserare pectus* (in [Sen.] *Oct.* 367).

**553 Argus** the sons of Phrixus were mentioned above, 542.

**porrigit** cf. Verg. *A.* 6.596 f. *per tota novem, cui iugera corpus/ porrigitur,* 9.589 *ac multa porrectum extendit harena,* Liv. 7.10.10 *Romanus ... uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit et in spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem* (see also 554 n.; it is interesting to find *hausit* and *porrexit* in one phrase, suggesting direct influence). The epic use is based upon Hom. *Il.* 16.776 (ὁ δ' ..) κεῖτο μεγας μέγαλωστὶ and 18.26 f. αὐτὸς ... μεγας μέγαλωστὶ/ κεῖτο. See also Sil. 4.293 *porrectus in arva (Crixus),* and for the thought VF 4.320 f. *(Amycus) tenditur ille ingens hominum pavor arvaque late/ occupat.*

**arvo** ed. 1481 for *auro* **V+L**. *ictu* **C** (*vet. cod.)* is a reasonable reading, *auso* Sudhaus in Kramer even better. I do not think that *porrigere* can be used without indication of a place where, which pleads strongly for *arvo,* even if *ictu* finds some support in Liv. 7.10.10 quoted above.

**554 Zacorum** Heeren 19 thought Zacorus (a priest, ζακόρος = 'attendant in a temple') inappropriate, and proposed Pacorus, the name of the Parthian king who defeated Crassus at Carrhae (53 BC); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.9.

**Phalcen** restored to the text by Maserius in view of *Phalces* in 88, 245 (*palchen* **V+L**), but also found in **C** *(vet.cod.).*

**peditem pedes** possibly a variant of Verg. *A.* 10.751 *hunc peditem; pedes et Lycius processerat Agis* or 10.361 *haeret pede pes* (on which compare 183 n.). Obviously the first victims had been killed on horseback, but for Amastris/-us (see below) Calais has dismounted in a chivalrous way. In 206 Castor is *peditem,* after which he procures himself a horse.

**haurit** 'draws the blood'; unusual with a person as the object, normally with the part of the body hit (as in Verg. *A.* 10.314, Ov. *Met.*

5.126, 9.411, Sil.1.392, 5.524 f., Sen. *Ag.* 890 (*latus*), Ov. *Met.* 8.439 (*pectora)*, 8.371(*femur*), Luc. 10.387 (*iugulus* = *iugulum*), Stat. *Theb.* 8.585 f. (*latebras ... inguinis*), 10.314 f. (*Echetli/ terga*), Lucr. 5.1324 *latera equorum)*, Liv. 7.10.10 (quoted above).
Sometimes *haurire* goes with a personal object, as in Verg. *A.* 2.600 *(quos omnis) iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis*, Sil. 7.584 *hausurus clausos* (all instances, TLL 6.3.2573.61 ff.)

**Amastrum** **C**, for *Amastri* **V+L**; *Amastrin* ed. 1498. The reading *Amastrum* may be modelled upon Verg. *A.* 11.673 f. *Amastrum/ Hippotaden*, 'grandson of Hippotes' (= son of Aeolus; cf. ARh 4.819). *Amastris*, on the contrary, is only known as a niece of Darius III (Strabo C544 = 12.3.10), giving her name to a town in Paphlagonia (Strabo C309 = 7.4.3, C541=12.3.1) on a synonymous river. Heeren 29 observes that *Amastrum* in 3.145 (a Cyzicene) cannot have anything to do with the present individual. **C** may be more reliable in the case of names (like *Phalcen, Latagum* and *Zeten* 572), so in spite of all recent editors printing *-in*, I prefer *-um.*

*

sanguinis ille globos effusaque viscera gestat
barbarus et cassa stridens sublabitur ira.
dat Calais Barisanta neci semperque propinquas
Riphea venali comitantem sanguine pugnas.
centum lecta boum bellator corpora, centum
pactus equos; his ille animam lucemque rependit
credulus; at tandem dulces iam cassus in auras
respicit ac nulla caelum reparabile gaza.

**555 sanguinis ille globos** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.668 *sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit*, Ov. *Met.* 12.238 f. *sanguinis ille globos ... / ... vomens.* Rather than supposing that a verb such as 'vomited' is missing it seems easier to link the blood and the entrails, understanding 'his entrails in streams of blood'.

**viscera gestat** for the gruesome detail cf. Hom. *Il.* 20.418 προτὶ οἷ δ' ἔλαβ' ἔντερα χερσὶ λιασθείς, Ov. *Met.* 12.390 *ferox sua viscera traxit.*

**556 barbarus** in 556 as well as in 561 *(credulus)* an adjective is trying to give some individuality to these nondescript warriors: Amastrus in extreme agony unflinchingly sticks it out, but is contemptuously

called a *barbarian*; the mercenary Barisas believed that his life was worth a Persian treasure *(gaza)*.

**cassa ... ira** cf. Sil. 7.123 *cassarum sedet irarum spectator*, Lucr. 3.981 *cassa formidine*, Theb. 6.158 f. *cassus ... timor.*

**stridens** *ridens* **V+L+C**, *frendens sive stridens* Pius; *frendens* would be supported by Ov. *Met.* 8.437 *tumida frendens Mavortius ira*, but *stridens* ('shrieking') gives better sense and involves less emendation. For *stridere* compare the shrieking of a wounded elephant in Sil. 9.575 f. *immane stridens agitur, crebroque coacta / vulnere. ridens* makes sense, but seems over-emotional.

**sublabitur** 'he collapses'; cf. 5.2 f. *Idmon / labitur* with Wijsman, Sen. *Con.* 7.1.17 *sublapsum est.*

**557 dat ... neci** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.341 *iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit*, *G.* 4.90 *dede neci*, and VF 6.272 *datum leto* with note.

**Calais** with Zetes a son of Boreas, ARh 1.211 ff. He is mentioned among the Argonauts as Zetes' brother in VF 1.469.

**Barisanta** Βάρις is a goddess in Ecbatana (Pape *s.v.*), Βαρίσσης a Persian name (Ctesias, *FHG* 688.F 13.16); replacing -ss- by -s- is a classical recipe for helping the scansion since Homer (᾿Οδυσ(σ)εύς).

**558 Riphea** accusative of a name *Ripheus*, apparently derived from the Rhipaean mountains, and possibly better spelled as Rhipea. On the spelling see Wijsman *ad* 5.558 *Rhipaea iuventus* and Thomas *ad* Verg. *G.* 3.382 referring to Servius, who derives the name from "ῥιφή *graece impetus*". There may be numerical allusion involved in the line number 558; in that case the present number of lines in Books 5 and 6 would overall be authentical, and much discussion about spurious lines or postulated lacunae futile. On numerical allusion see Liberman XLVI.

**venali ... sanguine** a mercenary, but only in *propinquas pugnas*, not too far away from home; a sneer. Cf. Luc. 10.408 on Egyptian mercenaries *venalesque manus: ibi fas ubi proxima merces.* In Sil. 5.264 *quid rapta iuvant?* the idea that wealth cannot buy back one's life is similar. In Sil. 13.680 f. Spanish troops in the service of Carthage are called *venale vulgus.* Fucecchi quotes Liv. 28.21.2 *qui venalem sanguinem habent.* To what degree is VF here critical of the society he lives in and more particularly of its dynasties, which base their power upon soldiers paid for their service?

**comitantem ... pugnas** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.590 *si bellum comitata* <*esset*>, Luc. 3.325 *nec haec alius committat (comitetur* **V,U***) proelia miles.*

**559 centum lecta boum ... corpora, centum (equos)** for the repetition of *centum* cf. Verg. *A.* 1.634 f. *centum/ terga suum, ... centum ... agnos*, or *G.* 4.383, *A.* 4.199 f., 6.43. For *corpora lecta* cf. Sil.13.433 *corpora lanigerum procumbunt lecta bidentum.* For *boum corpora* compare Verg. *A.* 11.197 *multa boum circa mactantur corpora Morti.* Of old the reading *laeta ... corpora* **C** has been discussed by editors, in view of Verg. *A.* 3.220 *laeta boum ... armenta*, *G.* 2.144 f. *armentaque laeta. hinc bellator equus* ..., but to take these passages as support for reading *laeta* here smacks of fabrication. In fact **C** gives *laeta hominum*, on which Vossius commented: "*Nugae!*".

**bellator** elsewhere in VF (2.386, 5.585) applied to a horse; to a human *e.g.* in Verg. *A.* 11.553 or 12.614 *bellator ... Turnus*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.220, Sil. 5.268, 13.144.

**560 pactus** sc. *erat*; from *pacisci* , 'to agree upon'. Compare Suet. *Otho* 2.2 *(Otho) ingens praemium pactus.*

**rependit** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.239 *fatis contraria fata rependens*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.8 *nec numero virtutem animumque rependit*; also in VF 6.4, 549, 744. There may be a contrast between Jason in 549 whose recompense is delight in his relatives and the present compensation with vile money.

**561 f.**. understand: *in auras respicit ac in caelum, non reparabile ulla gaza.* There are parallels in Verg. *A.* 4.691 f. *alto/ quaesivit caelo lucem* (with Pease) or 10.781 f. *caelumque aspicit ... moriens.*

**561 credulus** a palmary conjecture of Delz 1975:162 for *crudelis* **V+L**. For the characterization implied see 556 n. Fucecchi compares *credulus* to Homeric νήπιος.

**cassus** 'helpless, useless, ineffectual' (OLD5b); cf. Stat. Theb. 4.503 f. *cassusne sacerdos/ audior?*, Verg. *A.* 2.85 *cassum lumine lugent* (Stat. *Theb.* 2.15), 11.104 *aethere cassis.*

**562 (dulces ... in auras) respicit ac ... caelum** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.781 f. *caelumque/ aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.821 *respexitque cadens caelum* with Smolenaars for the *topos* "Letzte Worte und Gedanke", Sil. 16.73 f. f. *heu dulcia caeli/ lumina.*

**reparabile** in use since Ovid (*Ep.* 5.103 *(nulla ... arte)*, *Am.* 1.14.55, *Met.* 1.379).

**gaza** a word of eastern origin (Mela 1.64 *sic Persae aerarium vocant*), occurring since Cic. *Man.* 66 *ab auro gazaque regia* and used in Verg. *A.* 1.119 *Troia gaza* = 2.763 (cf. Serv. and Austin for further references).

*

563. labitur intortos per tempora caerula crines
564. tunc quoque materna velatus harundine Peucon.
565. at genetrix imis pariter Maeotis ab antris
566. implevit plangore lacus natumque vocavit
567. iam non per ripas, iam non per curva volantem
568. stagna nec in medio truncantem marmore cervos.

**563 labitur** cf. 5.3; *sublabitur* in 6.556.

**intortos ... crines** Sil. 3.284 *intortos demissus vertice crines* (from TLL 7.2.33.46 ff.); cf. (Fucecchi) Man. 4.722 *Syriam produnt torti per tempora crines*, 5.147 *tortos in fluctum ponere crines.*

**per tempora caerula** alluding to his watery connexions; see 302 n.

**564 (crines) materna velatus harundine** cf. 1.218 f. *harundine crines / velat Hylas*, Verg. *A.* 10.205 f. *patre Benaco velatus harundine glauca / Mincius* (*harundine* also describing Mincius in *G.* 3.15, *Ecl.* 7.12 f.). The phrase varies Verg. *A.* 5.72 *velat materna tempora myrto. materna ... harundine* indicates that the mother must have been a water nymph.

**Peucon** Peuce is an island in the mouth of the Danube, mentioned in 8.217 *insula Sarmaticae Peuce stat nomine nymphae*, 293, 376 (in 256 the nymph is meant).

**565 genetrix ... Maeotis** is Maeotis an adjective with *genetrix*, or is it a genitive with *antris*, as in Plin. *Nat.* 2.245 *os Maeotis*, the entrance to the Sea of Azov? Elsewhere the genitive is *Maeotidos*, as in Mela 1.10 *aditum Maeotidos.* Or is *Maeotis* the name of the eponymic nymph of the *lacus Maeotis*, as Fucecchi takes it, citing use of the name by Seneca and Statius? These lines have much in common (the words *genetrix, stagnum*) with Ov. *Met.* 7.380 f. *at genetrix Hyrie, servari nescia, flendo / delicuit stagnumque suo de nomine fecit* where *Hyrie* is, in fact, a name.

**imis ... ab antris** in the *Iliad* Thetis, sitting in her cave, hears her son bewailing Patroclus (18.35-50); the cave (50) figures again in 65, 402. Compare the underwater scene in Verg. *G.* 4.333 ff. where Aristaeus visits his mother Cyrene's cave, beginning with *at mater sonitum*

*thalamo sub fluminis alti/ sensit* ... In Sil. 5.15 ff. the nymph Agylle takes Thrasymen(n)us down, where the Naiads receive him *viridi sub antro* (20). For the combination cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.346 *imis ... in antris*, 1.583 *imo ... antro.*

**pariter** 'at the same moment'. No need for Morel's *patriae.*

**566 implevit plangore lacus** compare the Cyane scene in Ov. *Met.* 5.409-437 where Cyane is dissolved in tears, filling the spring of which she is the *numen* (428f.); similar cases are Hyrie (see above, 565 n.), Byblis (9.663), Egeria (15.549). The present instance, though, has more in common with the tears of spectators filling a spring, as in the cases of Marsya(s) (Ov. *Met.* 6.400) or, in particular, Kleite (ARh 1.1063 ff. κρήνην τεῦξαν θεαί, ἣν καλέουσιν/ Κλείτην).

**567 iam non, iam non** anaphora also found in Ov. *Met.* 11.406 *iam non esse lupum,iam non debere timeri.*

**per ripas, ... per curva volantem/ (stagna)** cf. 4.672 *volans ... per ... saxa*, 647 *per arma volans et per iuga*, Verg. *G.* 3.194 *per aperta volans.*

**568 (curva) stagna** *curvus* more often describes *rivers*, and since *stagna* allows the broad interpretation of 'water', probably rivers are meant. *curva flumina*, 'winding rivers', figure in Verg. *G.* 2.11 f., Ov. *Met.* 3.342; cf. *Fast.* 3.520 *Tiberis curvis ... aquis. stagna* is used for (the water of) a river in Stat. *Theb.* 9.327 (Hippomedon versus Ismenus), *Silv.* 1.3.73 (Anio falling into his river). I prefer this interpretation to *curvae aquae*, 'rippling waters' or 'hollow waves', as in VF 1.615 *freta curva* and (from TLL 4.1551.79 ff.) Mart. 9.90.3, Ov. *Met.* 11.505 *curvum aequor* (cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.366 f. κῦμα ... κατηρεφές), *Aetna* 94 f. ... *orbis/ extremique maris curvis incingitur undis*, Luc. 5.458 f. *(coepere) aequora classem/ curva sequi*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.374. After all, when even the sea is frozen, most rivers will also be.

**in medio ... marmore** in view of lines 100 f. about the frozen rivers Alazon and Novas *marmor* must refer, very appropriately, to the frozen sea; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.37 f. *vidimus ingentem glacie consistere pontum,/ lubricaque inmotas testa premebat aquas*, followed by 3.10.47 *inclusaeque gelu stabunt in marmore puppes.* For *marmor* applied to the sea in general see Langen *ad* 1.313), quoting Hom. *Il.* 14.273 ἅλα μαρμαρέην.

**truncantem ... cervos** literally he is 'carving' them; it seems easier to understand *obtruncantem*, 'killing', as in Verg. *A.* 3.55, 8.491, 10.747, Liv. 25.9.11 *sopitos vigiles in cubilibus suis obtruncat*, Sil. 5.260

*(Iertes) obtruncat Nerium.* However, the model has in fact been Verg. *G.* 3.349 ff., where Scythians are described amidst their frozen rivers (361 *undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbis*, see next note) killing *deer* not as in hunting, but slaughtering them. Because of the deep snow they cannot flee: 374 *comminus obtruncant ferro!*—Other instances (Stroh 62) of Valerian *simplex* for Vergilian *compositum* are, *e.g.*, VF 5.271 *rapit inde fugam* (cf. Verg. *A.* 2.619 *eripe, nate fugam)*, or VF 5.244 *membra toris rapit* (cf. Verg. *A.* 3.176 *corripio e stratis corpus).* We cannot completely exclude the possibility that VF wrote *in medio obtruncantem* (such an elision is found, *e.g.*, in 5.216 *longo ordine)*, but it is unlikely, since here the elision would destroy the caesura.

*

569. Eurytus Exomatas agit aequore. Nestoris hastae
570. immoritur primaevus Helix nec reddita caro
571. nutrimenta patri, brevibus praereptus in annis.
572. at Latagum Zetenque Daraps, illum exigit hasta,
573. hunc fugat, ingentem subiti cum sanguinis undam
574. vidit et extremo lucentia pectora ferro.

**569 Eurytus** an Argonaut, son of Hermes (ARh 1.51 f.), mentioned in VF 1.439, 3.99, 3.471.

**Exomatas** see 144+146 nn.

**agit** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.540 *quem congressus agit campo*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.457 f. *Danaos Cadmeius Haemon sternit agitque.* See 88 n.

**Nestoris** Argonaut, 1.145, 380, 3.143 (emendation), not mentioned by ARh; his elder brother Periclymenus (VF 1.388), however, is. Fucecchi refers to J. Schmidt, RE XVII.112.28 ff., who considers this notion of VF quite exceptional.

**570 immoritur** for the unusual verb cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.545 *immoriens*, where *moriens* would do, Ov. *Pont.* 3.7.40 *Euxinis immoriemur aquis*, where *in-* gives local colour, VF 4.182 *strictoque immortua caestu* (in a sense to be compared to Luc. 3.613, Sil. 14.403, 16.67).—For the scene compare above line 244 *descendit in hastam.*

**primaevus ... Helix** the Greek name is possibly derived from Ov. *Met.* 5.87 *intonsumque comas Helicem*, where comrades of Phineus fall in the struggle with Perseus. There Helix is apparently youthful, as he is here. VF may have consulted Ovid to find an example of battle scenes, in view of another allusion to Ovid in the present scene, in *immoritur*

(*Met.* 6.295 f. *illa sorori/ immoritur*). *primaevus* is not a common word, in VF also in 2.480, 652, here and there in Vergil (*e.g.*, 7.162 *primaevo flore iuventus*), Statius (*e.g. Theb.* 3.196 *primaevique senesque)*, Silius. The word *primaevus* has the associations of a *mors immatura*, and as such evokes pathos; cf. Catul. 64.401 *primaevi funera nati.* It is interesting to find that names such as Tages (223) or Helix are possibly derived from Ovid.

**571 (reddita) nutrimenta** the idea of paying back the cost of one's upbringing is derived from Hom. *Il.* 4.477 ff., where Simoisius οὐ δέ τοκεῦσι/ θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε; cf. *Il.* 17.301 f. οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι/ θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε. Langen compares ARh 1.283 ἄλλα δὲ πάντα πάλαι θρεπτήρια πέσσω (spoken by the mother of Jason), but in view of the use of *reddita* it seems more likely that there is direct influence of Homer, even if the ARh passage may also have directed the author's thoughts. The word *nutrimenta* is used in this context by Suet. *Aug.* 6 *nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus*, *Cal.* 9 *per hanc nutrimentorum consuetudinem*, Apul. *Met.* 5.14 *o nos beatas quas infantis aurei nutrimenta laetabunt.* Langen also quotes Justin 12.6.11 *tam foedam illi alimentorum suorum mercedem redditam, ut*... In VF as well as in Homer the author of the hero's destruction is identified in a similar way: *Il.* 4.479 ὑπ' Αἴαντος ... δουρὶ δαμέντι, to be compared to 6.569 *Nestoris hastae.*

**brevibus praereptus in annis** *praereptus* **C**, *ereptus* (**V+L**). Langen and Kösters discuss at length *brevibus ereptus*, which does not scan, thus inviting Samuelsson 1905:98 to conjecture the unnecessary *brevibusque.* However, just as Taylor's (467) simple change in line 7.633 (only transmitted in **C**) restored the scansion and thus vindicated that line for the text, so adopting *praereptus* from Carrio's manuscript (among the 10 last editors of VF only printed by Thilo) removes one more line from the list in Kösters (extended by Poortvliet 140) of lenthened final syllables, leaving a few instances like 6.612 *abiit hibernus*, 5.164 *impulerit imas.* For *praereptus* compare 3.543 *praereptum quanto ... questu/ audiet*, Ov. *Met.* 5.10 *praereptae coniugis*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.1 *quod tibi praerepti, Melior, solamen alumni?*, Tac. *Ann.* 15.59.3 *dum ipse maioribus, dum posteris, si vita praeriperetur, mortem adprobaret*, CIL 11.7738 *ave Luci praerepte matri.*

**572** Daraps attacks (<*agit aequore*>) both Latagus and Zetes, dispatching the one with the spear, and chasing the other away. Loehbach proposed (1872:12) to transpose 572-574 after 554; the missing verb in 572 could then be supplied by *haurit.* Baehrens preferred the position after

562 (which seems too far away from *dat neci).* Transposition to 554 would smooth the diction slightly, but not change the content, and is not necessary.

**at Latagum** **C**; *ablatacum* **V+L**. The man had been introduced in 5.584 (see Wijsman). Latagus and Zetes meet their deaths as Latagus and Palmus do in Verg. *A.* 10.696 ff., each being killed in a specific way, *(ille) Hebrum/ sternit humi, cum quo Latagum Palmumque fugacem,/ sed Latagum saxo .../ occupat os..., poplite Palmum/ succiso volvi segnem sinit.*

**Zetenque** **C**. Langen claims that this cannot be the Argonaut (1.469, 4.465 f., brother of Calais) because of his cowardly behaviour. Ever so, *Zetem* **V+L**, with a Latin ending, seems quite out of place; the *lectio difficilior* should prevail. It is remarkable that Thilo and Kramer quote Carrio as reading *Zatenque*, which is not the case.

**Daraps** in 6.65 f. Daraps, unable to join the battle because of a wound, sends Datis instead. However, simply replacing Daraps by Datis does not scan. The normally so exquisitely careful poet may — as Homer sometimes did — have slept for a moment, which can be considered a ground for postulating a premature end to the work caused by VF's death before final revision.

**illum exigit hasta, (hunc fugat)** *exigere* in the most basic sense of 'leading out', that is, out of life, influenced by the sense of 'to deliver a blow (with)'; cf. Luc. 10.31 f. *gladiumque per omnes/ exegit gentes (Caesar)*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.716 ff. *saxum Polyphemus ab Aetna/ ... in vestigia puppis/ auditae iuxtaque inimicum exegit Ulixen*, Sil. 5.294 *galeam super exigit ictum*, 14.505 f. *seu splendentem sub sidera nisu/ exigeret discum. exigit* has been printed by all recent editors except Baerens, Mozley and Bury (*excipit* Baehrens). For *excipit hasta* compare 639. The passage is difficult, witness Burman: "*videat lector, si quid melius ex his verbis obscuris efficere queat. Nos nihil certi adfirmamus, sed conjecturas nostras eruditioribus expendendas proponimus.*" (Burman preferred *erigit*, making much of Zetes being lifted in the air with not much of the spear left between his body and the hand of Daraps, the extreme part of the *ferrum.*)

**573 hunc fugat** from **C** *(vet.cod.)*; *hunc fugit* **V+L**, which makes no sense. Accordingly, Pius had already conjectured *fugat*; *hunc fugat* is printed by Courtney. Heinsius read *illi exigit hastam, hic fugit*, which is queer. Yet *hic fugit* had a great future, printed by all recent editors except Courtney (above) and Kramer (*hunc fugit*). *hunc figit* ed. 1474 does not scan. Carrio *(vet. cod.)* seems in these lines to give the more authentic version, reading *at Latagum* instead of *ablatacum* **V+L**. In fact in

Carrio's first edition (1566) he prints *hunc fugit*, in the second *hunc fugat* (1566); in both he indicates that his old codex gave the readings *ut imprimendum curavi.* Since he distances himself (in both editions) from the reading *hunc fugit*, this cannot be what he found, and must be a misprint in the first edition. For another misprint see 638 n.

**sanguinis undam** *undam* **C** *(vet.cod)* + ed. 1498, *unda* **V+L**; cf. Verg. *A.* 9.700 f. *reddit specus atri vulneris undam/ spumantem*, Sil. 10.244 f. *unda/ sanguinis.*

**574 lucentia pectora** implying that Zetes was put to flight when all of a sudden he had seen a sea of blood from the point (the end) of the steel through the *gaping breast* of Latagus. For *lucentia* in this sense compare Verg. *A.* 11.692 f. *loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis/ lucent*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.525 *iuguli vitalia lucent.* Between the *parma* and the *galea* there is a narrow gap potentially giving room for a blow (the interpretation of Pius and Burman); *extremo ...ferro* is an instrumental ablative. For *extremus* compare 5.140 *extrema nocte*, 5.3 *extremi aevi*, 5.226 *extremo funere.* — Fucecchi considers *vidit* to render a sudden awareness as in an Ovidian metamorphosis.

*

575. ecce autem muris residens Medea paternis
576. singula dum magni lustrat certamina belli
577. atque hos ipsa procul densa in caligine reges
578. agnoscit quaeritque alios Iunone magistra;
579. conspicit Aesonium longe caput ac simul acres
580. huc oculos sensusque refert animumque faventem,
581. nunc quo se raperet, nunc quo diversus abiret
582. ante videns, quotque unus equos, quot funderet arma
583. orantesque viros quam densis sterneret hastis.

D.3. *575 -601. Second interlude with Medea.*

Now follows the teichoscopia, modelled upon *Il.* 3.161-244. Wherever Medea looks, she sees Jason, presented to her by Juno. She is seated upon the pinnacles as Scylla was, Ov. *Met.* 8.14 ff. *regia turris erat ... addita muris; saepe solita est adscendere filia Nisi ...; bello quoque saepe solebat spectare ex illa rigidi certamina Martis ...; procerum quoque nomina norat armaque equosque habitusque.*

**575 ecce autem** "the formula marks an unexpected disruption of action in progress" (Austin *ad* Verg. *A.* 2.203).

**muris residens Medea paternis** to evoke pathos, because she is supposed to be full of patriotic feelings; *residens* emphasizes her passive position.

**576 singula dum ... lustrat** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.453 *namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo.*

**magni ... belli** cf. (TLL 2.1848.24 ff.) Verg. *A.* 2.193, 7.80, Liv. 38.42.8 etc.

**certamina belli** Lucr. 1.475, Stat. *Theb.* 4.666, Verg. *A.* 10.146 with Harrison: '*certamina belli* is likely to be Ennian (Lyne on *Ciris* 358) and looks like a version of the Homeric νεῖκος πολέμοιο (*Il.* 13.271 etc.)'. Compare also Cic. *Rep.* 2.13 *proeliique certamen varium*, Liv. 36.19.12 *in ipso certamine pugnae*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.17 *in certamine Martio*, Ov. *Met.* 8.20 *certamina Martis.*

**577 hos ... (alios)** some heroes she recognizes, others she inquires about (see 588 ff.).

**densa in caligine** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.466 f. *solum densa in caligine Turnum / vestigat lustrans* (with 12.444 f. *caeco pulvere campus / miscetur*). The *densa caligo* of the battlefield also figures in (TLL 3.161.27 ff.) Liv. 33.7.2, Sen. *Ag.* 472 f., Sil. 16.326.

**578 agnoscit** Medea recognizes these kings because she is after all a king's daughter. Compare Ov. *Met.* 8.21 f. *procerum quoque nomina norat / armaque equosque habitusque.*

**Iunone magistra** there is subtlety in Medea's following Jason, she needs someone to point him out.

**579 conspicit Aesonium longe caput ac simul** cf. Catul. 64.86 *hunc* (Theseus) *simul ac cupido conspexit lumine virgo* (Ariadne), Ov. *Met.* 8.23 *noverat ante alios faciem ducis Europaei.* Fucecchi compares the scene with the famous *ut vidi ut perii* (Verg. *Ecl.* 8.41).

**Aesonium** in line 592 *Aesoniden* occurs, the substantive, here the adjective *Aesonius* is used. Compare the discussion *ad* 5.35 in Wijsman's commentary, as well as 5.294 n. on the combination with *caput.* For *Aesonius* compare Prop. 3.11.12 *Aesonias ... domos*, Ov. *Met.* 7.156 *heros Ausonius*, Sen. *Med.* 83 *Aesonio duci.*

**acres (oculos)** cf. (TLL 1.359.50 ff.) Cic. *Planc.* 66 *populo Romano aures hebetiores, oculos autem esse acres et acutos*, Verg. *A.* 12.102 *oculis*

*micat acribus ignis*, Sen. *Dial.* 4 *(Ira II)* 3.2, as well as *acer* with *acies* (VF 3.571 f.), *lumen* (Ov. *Met.* 15.579 f.).

**580 oculos sensusque refert** Wetzel (86 n. 2) refers to Verg. *A.* 4.22 f. *solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem/ impulit*, where Aeneas takes Dido's heart by storm. That this is the subtext follows from the use of *solus* (see 586 n.). Compare further Verg. *A.* 12.656 f. *in te ora Latini,/ in te oculos referunt*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.558 *refer huc oculos*, *Epic. Drusi* 364 *in te solam oculos et tua damna refer*, Cic. *Quinct.* 47, *ad te, C.Aquili, oculos animumque rettuli.*

**animumque faventem** cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.55 *(iuro) hunc animum favisse tibi. virum ... faventum* closes the line in Verg. *A.* 5.148.

**581 nunc quo ..., nunc quo** both interrogatives *quo* depending on *ante videns.* A lively description of Jason's dashing to and fro.

**se raperet** cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.5.29 *illuc se rapuit.*

**diversus abiret** cf. 4.387 *hinc diversus abis*, Sall. *Iug.* 87.4 *at reges ... divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt*, 101.2 *divorsi redeuntes alius ab alia parte*, Verg. *A.* 11.855 *cur diversus abis?*, 5.166 *quo diversus abis?*, VF 7.577 *diversos postquam ire videt.*

**582 unus** cf. *solus* in 586. Fucecchi draws attention to the isolated position of *unus* between repeated *quot.*

**funderet C** (*vet.cod.;* already conjectured in the ed. Aldina, 1523); *fuderat* **V+L**. The reading *funderet* has been printed by nearly all editors for the sake of the parallels *videns quo se raperet, quo ... abiret, quam sterneret*, and makes good sense. (It is true that *fuderat* is for the same reason the *lectio difficilior).* The conjecture of Baehrens *eques confunderet arva* is ingenious, but too far from the tradition.

**583 orantesque V+L+C**; *errantesque* Sabellicus, *currentesque* Samuelsson 1905:99. It does not seem likely that Jason 'stops' *(sisteret)* people praying for their life; he rather kills them *(sterneret)*. Since I prefer *sterneret* (see below), *orantes* Mss. can be kept. It is as if Jason is meant to resemble Aeneas in *Aeneid 10* (*e.g.* 554 f. *tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis/ dicere deturbat terrae)*; Aeneas, however, only becomes merciless after the death of Pallas.

**viros ... sterneret C**; *sisteret* **V+L**. Both verbs occur in the same context in Verg. *A.* 6.857 f. *hic (Marcellus) rem Romanam .../ sistet* ("shall hold up") *eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem*; *sisteret* (here

"brought to a standstill") and *sterneret* ("laid low") are by and large interchangeable, but for the hero Jason pursuing fleeing foes the latter seems more appropriate! (although all ten recent editors, having a prejudice against **C**, printed *sisteret).*

**densis ... hastis** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.383, 2.409 *densis armis.* In view of the well-known scene of Verg. *G.* 2.142 *densisque virum seges horruit hastis* (alluding to Jason's adventure with the earth-born warriors) the present expression seems almost ironic.

*

quaque iterum tacito sparsit vaga lumina vultu
aut fratris quaerens aut pacti coniugis arma,
saevus ibi miserae solusque occurrit Iason.
tunc his germanam adgreditur ceu nescia dictis:
'quis precor hic toto iamdudum fervere campo
quem tueor quemque ipsa vides? nam te quoque tali
attonitam virtute reor.'

**584 tacito sparsit vaga lumina vultu** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.546 f. *sparsoque per omnia visu/ lustrat humum quaerens,* 3.63 *vaga lumina* (lights), VF 5.247 f. *tua lumina toto/ sparge mari* with Wijsman. Luc. 1.532 *sparso lumine* is different, referring to *light.* For *vaga lumina* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.63, or Luc. 5.212 f. *vagantia caelo/ lumina. lumina vultu* occupies the final position of the line as in Verg. *Aen.* 6.156, 862; VF 7.292, Sil. 4.234, 7.75; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.693 *lumina vultus.*

**585 fratris** that is, Absyrtus, see 5.457 with Wijsman.

**pacti coniugis** that is, Styrus, see 5.459 with Wijsman. For *pacti* cf. 6.44 n.

**586 saevus ibi miserae** emotive words alluding to the tragic events of Jason and Medea's future in Corinth. Cf. 498 (Hecate speaking) *a misera.*

**solusque occurrit Iason** cf. Verg. *A.* 4.22 as quoted in 580 n.

**587 his germanam adgreditur ... dictis** cf. Verg. *A.* 3.358 *his vatem adgredior dictis,* 4.92 *talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis.*

**ceu nescia** in view of the secret meeting in Book 5 (5.363-398) Medea is likely to recognize Jason quite well. It follows that she is now in the state of mind to find any form of excuse if only she can speak of him

(Wetzel 89, who compares Verg. *A.* 1.749 ff. *Dido longumque bibebat amorem,/ multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa,/ nunc ...,/ nunc..., nunc ...).*

**588 quis** Fucecchi compares *quis*, with the answer *ipsum* (592) to Hom. *Il.* 3.167, 192, 226 τίς and 178, 200, 229 οὗτος, respectively.

**fervere** *fervo*, fervere* is an older form, *ferveo, fervere* more modern. Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.7-10 is the classic passage for the discussion of both forms. *fervere* with short *-e-* can be found in Verg. *A.* 4.567, 8.677, 9.693 or VF 1.121 (with Langen), 7.150, and in the fifth foot, as here, in *A.* 4.409, Sil. 1.456, 9.243. For the sense compare Sil. 13.742 *fervet gens Itala Marte barbarica*, Verg. *A.* 9.693 f. *(nuntius:) hostem / fervere caede nova.*

**589 tueor** as Shelton 389 rightly observes *tueri* has a strong connotation of 'to protect'; Medea *tuetur*, Juno *videt.*

**nam te quoque** dramatic irony, because Juno is the cause of Jason's prowess, although this is only mentioned in lines 602 ff. *(novas egit sub pectore vires).*

*

590 contra aspera Iuno
591. reddit agens stimulis ac diris fraudibus urget.
592. 'ipsum' ait 'Aesoniden cernis, soror, aequore tanto
593. debita cognati repetit qui vellera Phrixi
594. nec nunc laude prior, generis nec sanguine quisquam.
595. aspicis ut Minyas inter proceresque Cytaeos
596. emicet effulgens quantisque insultet acervis?
597. et iam vela dabit, iam litora nostra relinquet
598. Thessaliae felicis opes dilectaque Phrixo
599. rura petens. redeatque utinam superetque labores!'

**590 contra ... (reddit)** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.530 *Aeneas contra cui talia reddit* in the scene where he does *not* spare Mago. We are here in the midst of a merciless game in which Juno now makes a move.

**aspera Iuno** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.279. According to Langen the epiphet is inappropriate, since she is not fierce at this moment; however, the psychologist in VF wishes to emphasize her intentions of which Medea is the victim.

**591 agens stimulis ac diris fraudibus urget** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.241 *iussisque ingentibus urget Apollo,* 5.442 *variis adsultibus inritus urget,* 5.226

*summis adnixus viribus urget*; *stimulis* and *fraudibus* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *agens* and *urget*. Compare Verg. *A.* 7.404 *reginam Allecto stimulis agit.*

**592 aequore tanto** cf. 24 f. *tanti ... labores / per maris.*

**593 debita ... vellera Phrixi** cf. 5.180 *loca*, 277 *dux*, 5.530 *finis*, based on the notion that Jason is entitled to the Fleece. *cognati vellera Phrixi* also figures in 7.14.

**repetit** cf. 6.10 *repetentes vellera Phrixi.*

**594 laude prior** ed. 1498 for *praecor* **V+L**. For the sense of 'having precedence' cf. Verg. *A.* 11.291 f. *ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis, hic pietate / prior*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.33.1 *astu locorumque fraude prior, vi militum inferior.*

**nec sanguine quisquam** (**V+L**): *nec sanguinis usquam* from **C** (*vet.cod.*) can be construed but does not make the required sense ('nor is anyone his superior in esteem or in birth'). By placing a comma after *prior* I make clear that I consider *nec* postponed.

(Burman considered distinguishing between the esteem based upon the genitives of *genus* and *sanguis* strained, and accordingly suggested conjectures). The blood-relationship is to Jason's own nephew Phrixus, who in his turn has married into such an important family as the Sun's. According to Burman Francius in fact supplied <*est*>.

**595 aspicis ut** with subjunctive; cf. Ov. *Rem.* 235, *Tr.* 1.9.7, 3.4.11.( TLL 2.834.36 ff.). Liberman 186 f. informs us that *ut* for 'how' is used five times in Book 2 (156, 271 twice, 272, 511, 568), twice in Book 1 (42, 278), in one line in Book 3 (30, repeated), thrice in Book 5 (137, 417, 418) and here.

**596 emicet effulgens** *emicet* takes up *emicuit* (551), while *effulgens* already alludes to the Sirius simile of 606 ff.

**insultet acervis** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.339 *(Turnus ... miserabile caesis) hostibus insultans.*

**597 vela dabit** as in Verg. *A.* 12.264, VF 1.765 f. *cum prima per altum / vela dedit*, Ov. *Met.* 1.132 where the first sailors *vela dabant ventis.* Compare Ov. *Ep.* 2.25 f. *Demophoon, ventis et verba et vela dedisti; vela queror reditu, verba carere fide.*

**litora nostra** not as often in Latin as one would expect from a sea-girt country; cf. Luc. 8.497 *a litore nostro.*

**598 Thessaliae felicis** *felix* is the epithet of Arabia, but its application to Thessaly is unique (TLL 6.1.436.30 ff.). In Hom. *Il.* 11.222 and 1.155 ἐριβῶλαξ is an epiphet of *Phthia*, in Thessaly; *felix* in its sense of 'fertile' can be considered a translation, and to refer to Thessaly, giving to Jason the lustre of Achilles. In Luc. 7.847, Thessaly is addressed as *Thessalia infelix*, and even if Medea's sister can in no way refer to the unhappy battle of Pharsalia, the author may intend here at least a pun, or even, more seriously, a reference to the fratricidal war of the Colchians in which Jason has taken sides (and, as the reader knows, the wrong side; see 18 f. n.).

**dilectaque Phrixo (/ rura)** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.85 *pinea silva mihi multos dilecta per annos*, Luc. 3.184 *dilecta Iovi .../Creta* as well as a few other instances of *dilecta* with a dative, listed in TLL 5.1.1181.9.

**599 rura petens** $\mathbf{L}^1$, *potens* **V+L**, ignored by all recent editors.

**redeatque utinam superetque labores** *redeatque* Heinsius for *eat atque* **V+L**; the conjecture has the great advantage of avoiding the *-at at-* repetition. In my view this overrules the support for *atque utinam* invoked by Courtney and Thilo with reference to Haupt[24] 47, who quotes *Valerius Cato, Ecloga e Lydia* 56 *istius atque utinam facti mea culpa magistra/ prima foret; letum mihi vita dulcius esset.* The combination *atque ... que* would have models in Lucr. 5.31 *Bistoniasque plagas atque Ismara propter*, Verg. *A.* 8.486 *manibusque manus atque oribus ora*, Luc. 10.503 *materiaque carens atque ardens aere solo*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.429 f.

For *superetque labores* cf. VF 7.131 f. *superetne labores*, Verg. *A.* 3.368 *superare labores.*

*

600. tantum effata magis campis intendere suadet
601. dum datur ardentesque viri percurrere pugnas.
602. at simul hanc dictis, illum dea Marte secundo
603. impulit atque novas egit sub pectora vires.
604. ora sub excelso iamdudum vertice coni
605. saeva micant, cursuque ardescit nec tibi, Perse,
606. nec tibi, virgo, iubae laetabile sidus Achivae,
607. acer ut autumni canis iratoque vocati
608. ab Iove fatales ad regna iniusta cometae.

---

[24] M.Haupt, *Observationes criticae*, Lipsiae, 1841, reprinted in *Opuscula I*, Leipzig 1875 = Hildesheim 1967

**600 tantum effata** cf. (with *effatus, effata*) Verg. *G.* 4.450, *A.* 6.262 (Sibylla), 6.547, 10.256 (with Harrison, who refers to Skutsch *ad* Enn. *Ann.* S46), 10.877, 12.885 (Iuturna). The verb occurs 28 times in the *Aeneid*, is absent from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, occurs in Lucan thrice, twice in VF, twice in the *Thebaid*, and eight times in the *Punica*, in line with its archaic character.

**intendere** TLL reserves a special section for the apparently unusual use of *intendere* where an object like *animum, sensum,* has to be supplied (*intendere* without such an object also in Plin. *Ep.* 8.19.2 *intende libro, quem ... accipies)*. Accordingly, Madvig 148 proposed to replace *magis* by *aciem* (cf. VF 3.572 *(acrem) intendens aciem)*, but this seems too big a change.

**intendere suadet** with consonantal *-u-* as usual; cf. Verg. *A.* 1.357 *patriaque excedere suadet.*

**601 dum datur** cf. 4.140 f. *heu fuge .../ dum datur!* Here and now is her chance to see Jason in action. The 'emotional experience is intensified by shortness of duration' (Shelton 390).

**ardentes ... pugnas** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.46 *ardentis ... pugnas* in the lofty context of the Emperor's battles.

**percurrere** a rather isolated use of the verb (TLL 10.1.1232.14 f.), though related to Cic. *de Or.* 1.218 *(est) boni oratoris multa auribus accepisse, multa vidisse, multa animo et cogitatione, multa etiam legendo percucurrisse.*

D.4. *602-656: Jason in focus.*

Glorified by Juno, Jason rages like Sirius in mid-summer. Then he meets Colaxes, son of Jupiter, in a scene modelled upon Hom. *Il.* 16.431-461.

D.4.a. *602-620.* Like Sirius, like comets, like Caucasus, like a lion: similes accompany Jason's final grand sally.

**602 ff.** The goddess dispenses strength, as did Athena with Diomedes (Hom. *Il.* 5.1-2), Juno with Turnus (Verg. *A.* 9.764 *Iuno vires animumque ministrat)*, Venus through the hands of Iapyx with Aeneas (*A.* 12.424 *novae rediere in pristina vires*); cf. Athena increasing the strength of Odysseus in *Od.* 18.66 f., Mars inspiring the Latini in *A.* 9.717 f. *animum virisque Latinis/ addidit et stimulos acris sub pectore vertit,* Neptune giving more power to both the Ajaxes (Hom. *Il.* 13.59-61).

**602** Mozley, Langen and Baehrens start a fresh paragraph at 602 (supported by Smolenaars XXXVIII), unlike Courtney and Ehlers who let *ac* Heinsius follow a comma. Bury had a full stop followed by *ac*; the other seven recent editors all have *At* **L** following a full stop or a colon (Baehrens, Kramer), which is what I prefer.

**at simul hanc dictis** *ac* Heinsius, *at* **L**, *ad* **V**; cf. *et simul his dictis* in Verg. *A.* 5.357. On the choice of *at* see above. The words *at simul* occur (TLL 2.1003.51-56) in Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.29, 1.9.19, *Met.* 8.449, *Fast.* 5.163, 6.469, *Rem.* 413, *Nux.* 131, Verg. *Ecl.* 4.26, Hor. *S.* 2.2.73, 2.6.32, Man. 3.323, 370, Luc. 6.611, Calp. *Ecl.* 5.56.

**Marte secundo** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.899, 12.497 *Marte secundo/*, Luc. 4.388, 9.596, 10.531 f., not in Ov., Stat., Sil.

**603 impulit C** *(vet cod.)* as well as Sabellicus; *intulit* **V+L**. Juno brings them together, inciting the one with words, giving the other prowess and success. Shelton 390 remarks that *impulit, egit, agens stimulis* (591) are terms usually applied to goaded animals.

**novas egit ... vires** cf. *novae ... vires* in Verg. *A.12* quoted above (602 ff.).

**sub pectora** cf. *sub pectore* in Verg. *A.9* quoted above (602).

**604 sub excelso ... vertice coni** *conus* is used for the top of the helmet to which the crest is attached (Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 3.468: *conus est curvatura quae in galea prominet, super quam cristae sunt)*. The word is frequently used in epic, as in VF 1.386 (closely followed by Stat. *Theb.* 7.351) *et in summo laurus Peneia cono*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.402 *stant vertice coni*, Sil. 10.177 *excelsi correptum vertice coni.* Although Sil. 8.419 *conique implumes* does *not*, *conus* may refer to the crest itself as in Stat. *Ach.* 1.437 *galeasque attollere conis.* The *vertex* as the point of the helmet bearing the crest also in Verg. *A.* 6.779 *ut geminae stant vertice cristae*, 12.493 *summasque excussit vertice cristas*, 9.732 *tremunt in vertice cristae.* The description of armour blazing like a star seems based upon Verg. *A.* 10.270-275 (based upon Hom. *Il.* 5.4; see below), and together with the *Aeneid* to have been the model for Stat. *Theb.* 7.690-711 (see Smolenaars *ad loc.*). *ardescit* (605) seems a variation based upon *A.* 10.270 *ardet*; Statius uses *incendit* in line 694. For the combination *excelso vertice* TLL 5.2.1219.52 cites Man. 1.392 *excelso ... Olympo*, 1.402 *ab excelso ... vertice Tauri.*

**605/606** "there gallops nearer, in flames from the speed, the star of the Achaean crest" (alternatively: "the Achaean crest (*poetic plural)*, a star of no joy").

**605 (ora) saeva micant** Shelton 390 points out the ambiguity of *saevus* (cf. *saevus* 586): 'fierce' in the battle, 'cruel' to Medea. *micant* echoes *emicet* (596) and *emicuit* (551), *ardescit* echoes *ardentes* (601). Compare also Colaxes darting forward *(emicat*, 636).

**605** The speed and the brightness are an important part of the external description; the silver Latin poet gives *multa, non multum.*

**nec tibi** once in Lucan and Silius, twice in *Aeneid* and *Thebaid*, thrice in VF, eight instances in Ov. *Met.*

**nec tibi, Perse (nec tibi, virgo, ... laetabile)** there is a contrast between *nec laetabile*, alluding to the Corinthian tragedy, and the mood of Medea in 7.487 *pro te lucem quoque laeta relinquam*, 7.512 *nunc ora levant audaci laeta iuventa.* Fucecchi rather thinks that from 725 onwards both defeated Perses and delirious Medea are depicted as victims of Jason's (Juno's) display of superiority.

**606 iubae laetabile sidus Achivae** *laetabilis* is infrequent (TLL 7.2.872.22 ff.): *e.g.*, Ov. *Met.* 9.255, Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.21. Langen compares for his interpretation "a crest <shining> like a star" VF 8.122 f. *micat omnis ager villisque comantem/ sidereis totos pellem nunc fundit in artus* where Jason wraps himself in the Golden Fleece (which is a different situation), as well as Claud. 3.*(Ruf.I)* 351 f. *stat cassis utrique/ sidereis hirsuta iubis.* The model, as Burman suggested, for a star like Sirius shining from a helmet (or shield) is Hom. *Il.* 5.4 δαιέ οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ/ ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον, as well as 19.381 f. ἡ δ' ἀστὴρ ὣς ἀπέλαμπεν/ ἵππουρις τρυφάλεια; the first scene follows directly upon the lines about being made to look grander, quoted in 602 n. The present scene plays an important rôle in Stat. *Theb.* 7.690-711 (see Smolenaars), the last ἀριστεία of Amphiaraus. There, Apollo gives him a final increase of valour, as does Jupiter to Colaxes in VF 6.629-645 (see 622 n.), but this shining shield and helmet are derived from Jason's in VF (*Theb.* 7.694 *ille etiam clipeum galeamque incendit honoro/ sidere*); the destructive aspects of the particular star Sirius are omitted. *Theb.* 7.710 *iubar adversi grave sideris* seems a word-play upon the *iubae sidus*, improving the grammar. — Fucecchi prefers to take *iuba* as the tail of a comet, but then I fail to see what *Achivae* would add.

**607 acer ... autumni canis** the Dog Star (as a sequel to the armour shining like a star also in the model, *Iliad 5)*, becoming visible in the morning from early August (the autumn, as in Hom. *Il.* 22.26. f. ἀστέρ'

.../ ὅς ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν). Jason has been compared to Sirius in 5.369 ff. (with Wijsman), at his first meeting with Medea; now the simile is a parallel to Verg. *A.* 10.270 ff. where, after a battle of varying fortunes for the parties involved, Aeneas enters decisively, as Jason will appear to do here. The flaming helmet and the comets are there as well: *ardet apex capiti tristisque*[25] *a vertice flamma / funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis: / non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae / sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor / ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris / nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum.* Gärtner 163 is right in finding several points of correspondence between the Sirius simile in Book 5 and the present one: *novas vires / mole nova, saeva / saevo, sidus / astro, autumni / autumno, Iove / Iuppiter.* Shelton 392 emphasizes the occurrence of Sirius in ARh (and in *Arg.5* at the meeting of Jason and Medea) as a link with the second occasion when it appears again before her gaze. Shey's (182) words are quoted by Shelton 393, implying that whereas ARh had used the Sirius simile to describe the brilliant appearance of Jason, Vergil in his imitation emphasized the destructiveness of Aeneas (*A.* 10.272 ff.); VF kept both meanings but gave "the simile an entirely different meaning... With one image VF unites the themes of love and war because by winning the war Jason is winning Medea: *nec tibi, Perse, nec tibi, virgo, laetabile sidus*". However, dark forebodings crowd around the image used. — The present simile ignores the λαμπρότατος aspect (*Il.* 22.30, for which see 5.369 ff. *luciferas crinita faces*, as well as *hebet Arcas* (Mercury, or Arctophylax) *et ingens Iuppiter)* but has a place for the comets of Verg. *A.* 10.272.

**iratoque (ab Iove)** cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.102 *num iratum timemus Iovem?*, Ps.Verg. *Catalept.* 13.38.

**608 fatales ... cometae** cf. Verg. *A.10* quoted above, Luc. 1.528 f. *crinemque timendi / sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen*, Sil. 8.626-655 (before Cannae), 637 *regnorum eversor rubuit letale cometes*, Sil. 1.461 *crine ut flammigero terret fera regna cometes.* Comets shone in the same ominous way in 5.370 *(nox) luciferas crinita faces.*

**ad regna iniusta** cf. Ov. Met. 5.277 *iniusta regna tenebat* (Pyreneus), Catul. 64.75 *iniusti regis Gortynia templa.* Jupiter raging against unjust kings; does this allude to Aeetes (who will lose the war the next day) and Pelias? Anyhow Jason himself is supporting the wrong cause and he is doing so, moreover, in a war between brothers, a civil war.

---

[25] see Harrison *ad loc.*

*

609. nec sua Crethiden latuit dea vimque recentem
610. sentit agi membris ac se super agmina tollit,
611. quantus ubi ipse gelu magnoque incanuit imbre
612. Caucasus et summas abiit hibernus in Arctos.

**609 sua ... dea** 'his special patroness'. For similar instances where *suus* indicates a special relationship rather than a 'possession' compare possessive pronouns going with names (*e.g.*, VF 6.11, 5.130, 7.423, Verg. *A.* 1.231, 2.522), or cases like VF 6.386 f., 628 (+ 5.12), Ov. *Met.* 1.72 *regio ... suis animalibus orba.*

**Crethiden** only here in Latin for 'descendant of Cretheus', grandfather of Jason, but used in Greek (Κρηθείδης) in ARh 3.157 and Pind. *Pyth.* 4.152/270.

**Crethiden latuit dea** *latere* used transitively, as in Verg. *A.* 1.130 *nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.154 *nec causae latuere patrem* with Smolenaars ('cf. λανθάνω'), 703 *nec latuere spolia illa Sirenem.*

**recentem** 'fresh, unknown before'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.80 *recens tellus.*

**610 (latuit dea) ... sentit** an easily understood change in grammatical subject to 'Crethides'= Jason, who is the logical subject of the whole section.

**agi** the passive depicts Jason as an instrument in Juno's hands. See 667 n., 663 n.

**membris** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.700 *maioraque membra.*

**ac se super agmina tollit** Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.690 *eminet ante alios* compares this 'conventional feature at the introduction of an *aristeia*' to several mainly Homeric sources, one of these the present line.

**611 gelu magnoque incanuit imbre** *imber* must here stand for 'snow' (a fairly isolated use according to TLL 7.1.422.63 ff.; cold changes the rain into snow) and we are to envisage a panorama with a view of snow-clad peaks in winter. Even so, the cold gets some emphasis (frost, winter), and this, in contrast to Medea's burning passion — not losing Jason from sight even though her brother and fiancé are also in the battle — bodes ill for the future. Compare 5.306 f. *canis .../... aquis* with Wijsman.

**612 (quantus) Caucasus** Langen quotes Verg. *A.* 12.701 where Aeneas is compared with mountains like Athos, Eryx and *pater Appenninus*, based upon Hom. *Il.* 13.754 where Hector is visualized as a huge snow-capped mountain (ὄρει νιφόεντι ἐοικώς). Compare also biblical *Cant.* 5:15 *species eius ut Libani.* Langen thinks the words suggest that the snow has in fact made the mountains higher, as was the case in Flor. 1.38.11=3.3.11 *(hiems) quae altius Alpes levat.* Anyhow the snow is there, and justifies *in Arctos* (as against Vergilian *ad auras*; see below), which gives the simile specificity. In 4.321 f. Amycus lies on the ground 'as if a part of old Eryx or the whole of Athos had come down'.

**summas abiit ... in Arctos** 'into the northerns sky' (since the stars are invisible in daylight). It is interesting to compare Verg. *A.* 12.701 *(nivali) vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras* and to think that the end of that hexameter could have influenced the choice of *in Arctos.* Compare VF 5.155 *in gelidas consurgens Caucasus Arctos.*

Gärtner 165 thinks that the mention of constellations brings Sirius again to mind. Poortvliet 140 remarks that *abiit hibernus* is metrically irregular, and extends the list of Kösters 88 with three instances: 3.199, 4.188, 6.612. He observes, however, that in *abiit* and 8.259 *impediit hymenaeos* the long *-it* reflects archaic prosody. — For *abiit* cf. 4.202 *scopuli, qui montibus altis / summus abit*, and (Fucecchi) Luc. 2.626, Sil. 3.493 *abeuntque in nubila montes.*

*

613. tunc vero, stabulis qualis leo saevit opimis
614. luxurians spargitque fame mutatque cruores,
615. sic neque parte ferox nec caede moratur in una
616. turbidus inque omnes pariter furit ac modo saevo
617. ense, modo infesta rarescunt cuspide pugnae.
618. tunc et terrificis undantem crinibus Hebrum
619. et Geticum Priona ferit, caput eripit Auchi
620. bracchiaque et vastis volvendum mittit harenis.

**613 tunc vero** On *tunc* see 292 n.

**qualis leo** The lion simile has seemed an appropriate one for heroes ever since Homer, where they abound. Specific details of the present one are that the lion is hungry, finds cattle or sheep in a pen and spatters blood in attacking one victim after the other. However, in *Il.* 5.554 ff. or 12.299 ff. the lions are eventually killed, or driven away (11.548 ff., which is quite different from the present simile); the one

most similar in the *Iliad* is 24.41 ff. referring to Achilles. In *Od.* 22.402 (repeated in 23.48) Odysseus, having killed the suitors, is defiled with blood. Closer to VF are the following passages: Verg. *A.* 9.339 ff. *impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans/ (suadet enim vesana fames) manditque trahitque/ molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento*, *A.* 10.723 ff. *impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans/ (suadet enim vesana fames), si forte fugacem/ conspexit capream aut ... cervum, gaudet hians immane....; lavit improba taeter/ ora cruor-*, Sen. *Thy.* 732 ff. *qualis leo/ in caede multa victor armento incubat/ cruore rictus madidus et pulsa fame/ non ponit iras; hinc et hinc tauros premens*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.675 ff. *ut leo, ... depastus oves, ubi sanguine multo/ luxuriata fames cervixque et tabe gravatae/ consedere iubae*, Sil. 2.683 ff. *ceu, stimulante fame, cum victor ovilia tandem/ faucibus invasit siccis leo ... ructatus cruor* or, with another animal, Stat. *Theb.* 10.288 f. *Caspia .../ tigris, ubi immenso rabies placata cruore.* Jason is thus by the context compared to Achilles, Odysseus, Nisus, Mezentius; the two Vergilian similes speak of *vesana fames*, VF retains *fames*, giving a touch of his own by adding *luxurians*.

**stabulis ... opimis** *opimus* is used of 'meals' in Verg. *A.* 3.224 *(dapibus)*, Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.51, Apul. *Met.* 5.3, Claud. 1*(Pan.Prob.Olybr.)*.262, Hor. *S.* 2.7.103 *(cenis)*, Sil. 11.280 *(mensae)*, but also of *praeda* (Hor. *Epod.* 10.21, Liv. 45.39.4). The word *stabula* may refer to Verg. *A.* 10.723 *stabula alta.* σταθμοί are mentioned in the lion similes in Hom. *Il.* 5.554 ff. or 12.299 ff. as well as, in connexion with lions, in *Il.* 5.161 ff., 12.299 ff., 16.751 ff., 17.109.

**614 luxurians** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.677 *luxuriata fames <est>*, or in a similar context of blood *Theb.* 7.12 f. *in sanguine gentis/ luxuriat (Mars)* with Smolenaars.

**spargitque fame** Burman, *spargitque famem* **V+L**. Burman construed *spargitque mutatque cruores* and found support in Lucr. 2.195 *spargitque cruorem.* It is not difficult to find a poetic sense for *spargere famem* (Shelton 396 thought of dispersing the hunger by feeding from various animals in the stable), and in view of the use of *spargere* with various objects it could seem acceptable; however, *spargere voces* (3.603), *spargere lumina* cannot be compared, since there something is 'going out', which is too distorted a sense to be applied here. *spargitque ... mutatque* may be based upon Vergilian *manditque trahitque* (613 n.).

**mutatque cruores** the lion spatters blood around and does so 'here and there'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.849 f. *etenim huc iam fessus et illuc/ mutabat turmas*, 'he was wheeling his squadrons here and there' (Mozley). (In Sil. 5.286, 6.238 *hostem* there is in fact a change in the foe to be

fought, the more usual sense of *mutare*. This made Kleywegt 2472 adopt the interpretation *mutat victimas*, but on my reading this is not necessary).

**615 sic neque parte ferox** sc. *est*.

**616 inque** one would rather expect *sed*.

**furit ac ... saevo (ense)** cf. 8.19 *saevum ... ensem*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.7.49 *saevo ... ense*, Luc. 3.142, 5.61, Sen. *Tro.* 312, Stat. *Theb.* 8.343, 9.136 f. Shelton 395 (supported by Gärtner 164) considers the simile with the lion to mark Jason's transformation into a killer (with *saevo* in 616), and compares the situation to Verg. *A.* 10.510-605 where, however, the justification is that Aeneas is taking revenge for Pallas.

**617 infesta ... cuspide** cf. Liv. 4.19.4, 9.22.7, 8.7.9, 10.36.9 (both plural), Sil. 12.565 f. and in particular 17.451 (same position in the line *continuo infesta portantem cuspide vulnus*, where Hannibal carries the spear).

**rarescunt pugnae** the abstract ('battles') for the concrete ('warriors'). Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.612 *tantamque dolent rarescere turbam*, Sil. 5.382 *iam rarescentes acies*, 17.422 *rarescit multo lassatus vulnere miles* (and Strand 118). Strand 62 ff. gives a list of examples of *bella*, *pugnae*, *proelia*, *arma*, used to denote warriors; among these 6.32 (*pugnas ... per omnes*), 6.295, 451, 740.

**618 undantem crinibus** cf. 3.525 f. *tenui vagus innatat unda/ crinis*. *sudantem* **C** (*vet. cod.)* does not seem appropriate. There seems point in speaking of someone named after a river (see next n.) as *undantem*; however, not his *hair*, rather his *crest* must be described as *terrifica*. Hebrus is waving his terrible helmet-crest. *crinis* is used for a crest in Sil. 16.59 f. *cudone comantes/ disiecit crines*.

**619 (Hebrum) et Geticum Priona** the adjective probably applies to both warriors. The Hebrus is a Thracian river famous for its gold, and mentioned in that connexion in VF 4.463 (with Korn), as well as Verg. *Ecl.* 10.65, Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.10, Stat. *Theb.* 7.66. For names of persons derived from rivers see 192 n. *Hebrus* (as a river in 139) is also used as the name of a Cyzican (3.149) and used in Stat. *Theb.* 10.315 as well.

**caput eripit** 'he slashes off the head' (Mozley); cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.785 *eripuisse caput collo*, Luc. 10.5 f. *an eriperet mundo Memphiticus ensis/*

*victoris victique caput*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.431 *erepto ... ductore.* Heinsius proposed the easier *caput abripit.*

**Auchi** cf. 60. He was old, rich and a priest, none of which could prevent his being brutally slaughtered. For other priests killed see 304 n.

**620 bracchiaque** although Heinsius had already conjectured *Branchiadae*, editors printed *bracchia* until Kramer, suspecting corruption, obelized the word, followed by Courtney and Ehlers. Yet, it is difficult to see what is wrong with *bracchia*, except that perhaps another word could serve just as well. Furthermore Vaalburg (unpublished), supported by Fucecchi, refers to Hom. *Il.* 11.146 f. where Agamemnon cuts off the hands and head of Hippolochus. At first sight *bracchia* seems odd, if we envisage the cutting off of head and arms *in that order*; the source passage is in this respect more realistical, first hands, then head.

**volvendum mittit harenis** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.555 f. *(caput) deturbat terrae, truncumque tepentem/ provolvens.* Fucecchi quotes Verg. *G.* 4.523 ff. where (river) *Hebrus* and *volvere* are found together. *volvere* is based upon Hom. *Il.* 11.147 κυλίνδεσθαι.

*

621. At genitus Iove complerat sua fata Colaxes
622. iamque pater maesto contristat sidera voltu
623. talibus aegra movens nequiquam pectora curis:
624. 'ei mihi, si durae natum subducere sorti
625. moliar atque meis ausim confidere regnis!
626. frater adhuc Amyci maeret nece cunctaque divum
627. turba fremunt quorum nati cecidere cadentque.

D.4.b. *621-656: Colaxes scene.*

The model is Hom. *Il.* 16.431-461 where Jupiter complains about the death of his son Sarpedon. Vergil alludes to the scene in *A.* 10.464 ff. where, however, Jupiter is the one reminding Hercules that for young Pallas his final hour has come; line 627 refers directly to Vergil. Colaxes fulfils in the second series of battle scenes the rôle of Gesander in the first series: the barbaric hero who seems irresistible and can only be countered by the supernatural force of Amazons or of Jason glorified by Juno.

**621 genitus Iove** a topos, already in Hom. *Il.* 5.627-664, where Jupiter's son and grandson meet; see also 636 *proles Iovis.*

**complerat sua fata** cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.77 *etiam complerat genitor sua fata*, VF 5.225 *fata laborati Phryxus compleverat aevi.*

**Colaxes** see 48 n. He meets his end in 652.

**622 maesto ... vultu** cf. Jupiter mourning for the inevitable death of Semele, Ov. *Met.* 3.298 ff. *ergo maestissimus altum/ aethera conscendit, vultuque sequentia traxit/ nubila*, or Apollo seeing that the end has arrived for his Amphiaraus in Stat. *Theb.* 7.693 *maestus et extremos obitus illustrat Apollo. extremus* corresponds to *supremus* in 629. For the combination compare 2.608, 4.60, 7.105, Verg. *A.* 6.156 *Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu*, Ov. *Met.* 5.396 f. *maesto ore.*

**contristat sidera** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.275 *contristat lumine caelum* (in the Sirius simile, itself based upon *G.* 3.279 *(Auster) pluvio contristat frigore caelum*), Stat. *Theb.* 7.46 *durus contristat sidera fulgor* (modelled upon the present line), Hor. *S.* 1.1.36 *contristat Aquarius annum* (in January).

**623 aegra ... pectora** cf. *Ciris* 341, Sil. 13.402, 15.135 f., or *aegro corde* in VF 5.131 (with Wijsman).

**movens ... pectora** cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.28 *certe mea pectora movit* (Jason).

**624/625**: 'woe me, if I should endeavour to give to my son a chance to avoid his harsh fate, daring to trust in my power as king' (see for the construction 626 n.)

**ei mihi** the equivalent of Hom *Il.* 16.433 ὤμοι ἐγών in the model scene, the death of Sarpedon in *Il.* 16.419-505. The combination thrice in Verg. *A.*, 11 times in the *Thebaid*, and in VF also in 1.327, 7.201B, 236, 284, 483, not in prose. Antolín *ad* Tib. [Lygd.] 6.33 gives further statistics on *ei mihi*, basing himself upon McKeown *ad* Ov. *Am.* 1.6.52.

**subducere** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.50 *dirae valeam subducere pugnae* (Venus), taken up by Juno in 10.81 *tu potes Aenean manibus subducere Graium* and 10.615 *pugnae subducere Turnum*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.4.27 *animam saevae fessam subducite morti.*

**durae ... sorti** *durus* does not often go with *sors* (Ov. *Fast.* 2.429, Sil. 13.532, more often with *fortuna* as in Cic. *Mil.* 1.87, Verg. *A.* 12.677, Sil. 10.597, 11.168.

**625 moliar atque** *melior* **V+L**; *molior* Pius; *moliar* ed. 1525; *molior utque* Burman. *melior* may have been induced by *atque.* Pius felt that *melior* was hiding a form of *moliri.* I prefer a subjunctive and *atque*, with all recent editors.

**ausim** archaic subjunctive form, but frequently used in comedy and here and there in most of the poets, although this is the only instance in VF; relatively frequent in Ovid and Livy; *ausit, ausint* six times in Statius, thrice in Silius (TLL 2.1251.77 ff.).

**regnis!** Thilo, Langen and Giarratano print an exclamation mark after *regnis*, apparently regarding *ei mihi* as the apodosis rather than 626 ff. For *regna* as 'kingship' cf. Sen. *Oed.* 6 *quisnamne regno gaudet?*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.451 *(nec ... patres) reddere regna sinent*, 7.390, 10.583, Luc. 2.563 *supraque nihil, nisi regna, reliqui.*

**626 maeret** with *frater ... maeret* would begin the apodosis, unless one considers *ei mihi* as such. However, *frater maeret cunctaque divum turba fremunt* would be ungrammatical as the apodosis of *si ... moliar.* With no heavy punctuation after 625 and *ei mihi* simply regarded as an interjection, as in the editions of Ehlers and Courtney, many editors have followed Hofman Peerlkamp, who in his Vergil commentary of 1843 (*ad Aen.* 10.467, p.265) conjectured *maerens*, construing *frater ... cunctaque divum turba frement.* This was taken over by Schenkl, Baehrens, Bury, Kramer, Mozley, of whom Schenkl, Kramer and Mozley preferred *fremant*, see below. In my view there are only two possibilities: either *ei mihi, si ... moliar...! frater maeret et turba divum fremunt* or *si (ei mihi) moliar ..., frater maerens et turba divum frement/fremant.* The first option requires less change of the tradition, but the exclamation mark is obligatory. For *ei mihi, si ...* compare Ov. *Ep.* 2.106 *ei mihi, si quae sim, Phyllis, et unde rogas ...*, or *Pont.* 4.8.13 f. *ei mihi, si ... vultum tu ... / ducis et adfinem te pudet esse meum!* (*ei mihi* can according to TLL 5.2.300.34 ff. be followed by *qualis, quantum, quod, ne, si).*

**nece** a very violent word, quite in line with the character of Amycus but not exactly expected from a *father* and accordingly shedding light on Jupiter's regard for Amycus. The word *nex* is used in Verg. *A.* 8.202 for Geryones, in Hor. *Epod.* 7.18 *scelusque fraternae necis*, Liv. 24.22.14 *nece tyranni*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.37.1 *miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat*, Suet. *Cl.* 11.3 *Gai ... diem ... necis.* In Vergil it is further used in *(de)mittere neci, dare neci* (*A.* 2.85 and, accordingly, 2.334 *parata neci*, 12.341, 12.513, and of animals, *G.* 3.480, 4.90). — Compare 638 for *necare.*

**627 (cuncta divum) turba** cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.443 = 22.181 ἀτὰρ οὔ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι. For the combination cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.911 *turba deum* .

**fremunt** as argued above, if this is the apodosis of a *potential* protasis (K/S 2.393 ff.), a present subjunctive would be expected, although a future (also in Langen) would equally well do. Both would be conjectural anyhow. According to the principle of economy considering *ei mihi* as the protasis, *frater maeret* as a new sentence, leads to accepting *fremunt* Mss. quite naturally construed *ad sententiam.* The word agrees with Ov. *Met.* 9.419 f. *vario superi sermone fremebant/ et cur non aliis eadem dare dona liceret* (to prolong the lives of their favourites), based upon Verg. *A.* 10.96 f. *cunctique fremebant/ caelicolae adsensu vario).*

**cecidere** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.470 *tot gnati cecidere deum, quin occidit una/ Sarpedon, mea progenies*, a scene based upon Hom. *Il.* 16.431-461. In fact, a number of sons of various gods participate in the battle, but not one death is reported. Amongst the Argonauts there are three sons of Mercury (1.436 ff.). Boreas begot Zetes and Calais and Neptune Erginus; Orpheus and Idmon (VF 1.228) are sons of Phoebus. Aeetes is a son of Helios. *cecidere cadentque* ends the line in Hor. *Ars* 70 (Fucecchi).

*

quin habeat sua quemque dies cunctisque negabo
quae mihi'. supremos misero sic fatus honores
congerit atque animis moriturum ingentibus implet.
ille volat campis immensaque funera miscet
per cuneos, velut hiberno proruptus ab arcu
imber agens scopulos nemorumque operumque ruinas,
donec ab ingenti bacchatus vertice montis
frangitur inque novum paulatim deficit amnem.

**628 quin** with the full emphatic force of: 'nay', 'indeed', 'in fact'. *quin* seems quoted from Vergil (see above). Compare for this sense VF 4.653 f. *deus adfuit ausis./ quin iterum idem aderit, credo, deus*, 7.183 *quin audeat opto.*

**habeat sua quemque dies** cf. Verg. *A.* 10.467 *stat sua cuique dies*. For *sua* also 10.471 f. *etiam sua Turnum/ fata vocant* as well as VF 5.12 *dies simul et suus admonet omnes* (with Wijsman).

**629 quae mihi** sc. *nego.*

**supremos ... honores** cf. Verg. *A.* 11.76 f. *iuveni supremum maestus honorem/ induit*; see on *supremus* Wijsman *ad* 5.13.

**630 animis ... ingentibus implet** cf. Verg. *A.* 7.475 *Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet.* Smolenaars compares the phrase to Stat. *Theb.* 7.704 *anima flagrante superbit.* Similar scenes can be found in Hom. *Il.* 16.652 ff. where the 'last honours' for Patroclus, and *Il.* 17.206 where the same for Hector are involved.

**moriturum** cf. *moriture* in taunts (Stat. *Theb.* 7.678, Verg. *A.* 10.811); the word occurs 12 times in the *Aeneid*, two of these 10.881 (Mezentius speaking ) *venio moriturus* and 11.741 f. *equum in medios moriturus et ipse / concitat* (Tarchon).

**631 ille volat campis** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.450 *ille volat campo.* Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.744-751 thinks the line renders Hom. *Il.* 5.87 θῦνε γὰρ ἄμ πεδίον ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἐοικώς, introducing the simile.

**funera miscet** see 428 n.

**632 per cuneos** a *cuneus* is a formation of soldiers, potentially in wedge-shape.

**velut** ... the simile has some traits in common (*imber, vertice montis*) with Verg. *A* 12.684 ff. where a rock broken off by the wind, loosened by pouring rain or age, tumbles down, ultimately based upon Homer; see Smolenaars 1991:68 f. (*imber* is primarily a downpour of rainwater, resulting in landslides and seething rivers carrying away trees and fragments of bridges). VF is not clear about the *tertium comparationis.* Colaxes fights against (636 ff.) several adversaries and 'mixes deaths' like a rainfall bringing down rocks and trees. Possibly we must have in mind the subtext of Hector in *Il.* 13.136 ff. who is like a rock that is broken down by rain and washed away by a river. Nevertheless, the text as it stands refers to water power. There are several models available. *Il.* 5.87 ff. speaks of a winter river taking with it bridges and ἔργα ... κάλ' αἰζηῶν (= agriculture), 11.492 ff. of another river in winter removing trees, 16.384 ff. in autumn when rains were pouring down, swelling the rivers coming κάρ (= *proruptus)* from the mountains, diminishing ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων. Apparently ἔργα lies at the root of *opera*; another way of saying the same thing was chosen by Vergil in *A.* 2.305 ff. where a *rapidus montano flumine torrens / sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores / praecipitisque trahit silvas.* In Lucr. 1.283 ff. a *decursus aquai* is *fragmina coniciens silvarum arbustaque tota.* Gärtner 332 gives several references to other rivers flooding the land.

**hiberno ... ab arcu** on the rainbow drinking water and pouring it on the earth again see Smolenaars ad Stat. *Theb.* 7.427 *imbrifer arcus*, based upon Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 1.270 ("Die Antike glaubten, der

Regenbogen schaffe neuen Regen"). *hibernus* describes the winter storms with much rain, 'filling' the sea for depletion by the rainbow. In fact *Il.* 13.138 speaks of a winter river, ποταμὸς χειμάρροος.

**633 nemorumque operumque** on *-que -que* see 21 n. *opera publica* are buildings, as in Cic. *Ver.* 12, Plin. *Ep.* 10.33.1 *duo publica opera, Gerusian et Iseon,* ... See above for the Homeric roots of *opera. nemorumque operumque ruinas* = 'fragments of trees and buildings'.

**634 ab ingenti ... vertice montis** = 'down from the highest mountain tops' as in Verg. *A.* 5.35, 7.674, 11.526; cf. *A.* 1.163, 4.247, 5.759, 10.230, 12.684, 703.

**bacchatus** *bacchari* for 'to run wildly to and fro', as in Lucr. 5.824, Verg. *A.* 4.666 or 4.301, Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.29 *nunc sicca gelidus Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto,* Luc. 5.169; here it is the water pouring down that creates a torrent, in Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.11 f. *Thracio bacchante ... vento, Ciris* 480 *hiberno bacchatur in aequore turbo* it is the wind raging.

**635** Finally the power of the running water is broken and gradually weakened until it is channeled into a neat streamlet.

**deficit** 'he loses strength'; cf. Mela 3.78 (the Euphrates) *non perdurat in pelagus, ....emoritur et nusquam manifesto exitu effluit, ut alii amnes, sed deficit,* Ov. *Fast.* 2.410 *fluvio deficiente.*

*

talis in extremo proles Iovis emicat aevo
et nunc magnanimos Hypetaona Gessithoumque
nunc Arinen Olbumque necat. iam saucius Apren
et desertus equo Thydrum pedes excipit hasta
Phasiaden, pecoris custos de more paterni
Caucasus ad primas genuit quem Phasidis undas.
hinc puero cognomen erat famulumque ferebant
Phasidis intonso nequiquam crine parentes.

**636 in extremo ... aevo** in the last moments of his life; but normally used for the end of a long life; cf. 5.3, 6.644 *supremas colus,* 6.629 *supremos honores.* Shelton concludes that there is implied irony.

**proles Iovis** see 621 n. The words also found in 4.327 *salve vera Iovis ... proles.*

**emicat** as did Jason (551), like a star (596).

**637 magnanimos** see 116 n. A word used in such lofty contexts as Verg. *G.* 4.4 and *A.* 6.649 serves to increase the stature of Colaxes' opponents.

**Hypetaona Gessithoumque** the long name, based on fantasy, that fills the two final feet, seems inspired by Vergilian phrases such as *A.* 6.393 *Thesea Pirithoumque*, or 6.601 *Ixiona Pirithoumque* and goes back to Greek originals.

**638 Arinen Olbumque** from **C** (*vet.cod.)*, against *arinae nolbum* **V**. Heeren 57 can think of two sources for the name *Arine*: the Punic fortress *Arine* (Liv. 26.49.5), or a Dacian river. To what degree the root *ari-* (see 103 n.) played a rôle I cannot say. The other names of the present section, *Hypetao, Gessithous, Olbus, Thydrus (Tydrus* **C**) have not been treated by previous commentators and are not easily explained.

**necat** from **C**. *rotat*, first discussed (but refected) by Sabellicus (Balbus *teste* Burman) and printed by Courtney and Ehlers, is supported by Ov. *Ars* 2.374 *(aper) fulmineo rabidos cum rotat ore canes*, he 'overturns' them (Mozley). Yet, *necat* **C** (*vet.cod.)*, printed by Thilo, Schenkl, Baehrens, Langen, Bury, Giarratano, Mozley, 'puts to death', 'butchers', gives the sense required and is backed by a sound Ms. tradition, although Courtney (1965:153) thought that *necat* would be an 'unpoetic word', only suitable for an outburst like that of Venus in Stat. *Theb.* 9.828. For the corruption one can suppose *necat* > *netat* > *notat* **V+L** (printed by Kramer). It is true that *nece* was used in 626, but this is 12 lines ago, and does not argue against *necat* here.

**Apren** **C**, *Aprem* **V+L**; related to 'wild boar' (*aper*) if of Latin origin, but such names do not occur in Colchis. However, it would be in VF's manner to invent a name with Greek ending *Apren* suggesting the boar to his readers. All recent editors printed *Aprem*, but older ones like Burman or Lemaire have already had *Apren*, which is the *lectio difficilior.* Carrio found in his *vet. cod.* the reading *Apren* although in his first edition (1565) he printed *Aprex*, an apparent printing error.

**639 desertus equo** that the horse of Colaxes should have actively abandoned him seems something the heavenly father would not have allowed. Rather Colaxes 'is deprived of his horse', because it must have been killed, just as VF in his usual over-grief style omits to mention why and how many a hero was wounded. Compare *B.Afr* 83.3 *equites ... praesidio deserti ... fugiunt*; *Phaed.* 1.21.3 ff. *defectus annis et desertus viribus / leo.*

**excipit** (Maserius according to Ehlers), *excidit* **V+L**, *exigit* Sudhaus in Kramer; cf. 572 (*exigit hasta*), Verg. *A*. 3.331 f. *(illum) Orestes/ excipit incautum*, 9.762 f. *Gygen/ excipit*, 10.386 f. *incautum .... / excipit* with Harrison. Again in 646. With *excipit hasta* cf. *incipit hasta* in 196.

**640 Phasiaden** a logical name (see below) but not found in Greek except for the bare entry in *Suid.* without an explanation. On words in --δης compare Keurentjes[26], who states that group names rather than patronymics are at their origin.

**pecoris custos** sexual pastimes of shepherds with nymphs seem to have been popular, in view of Hom. *Il.* 6.25 ποιμαίνων δ' ἐπ' ὄεσσι μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ; cf. 14.444, Verg. *A*. 1.617 f. *Aeneas quem .../ alma Venus ... genuit Simoentis ad undam.* Normally it is the shepherd who makes moves towards a nymph; the reverse situation is described in ARh 2.500 ff., where Cyrene is tending her flock beside the Peneius, when Apollo abducts her; Aristaeus is later born in Libya. In ARh 1.35 f. Asterion joins the expedition, ὅν ῥα Κομήτης/ γείνατο δινήεντος ἐφ' ὕδασιν 'Απιδανοῖο. Compare also Verg. 5.38 f. *Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater/ quem genuit* and VF 6.50 n.

**de more** 'in the customary way', as in 5.404, Verg. *A*. 3.369, 11.35, Ov. *Met.* 7.606.

**641 Caucasus** seemingly just a name for the father; behind the name is hiding the mountain range itself, in view of the old nature mythology mentioned below (cf. the Titan Atlas and his mountains in Verg. *A*. 4.246 ff.).

**ad primas ... undas** 'at the edge of the water'; cf. 2.637, 4.434, 5.117.

**quem** postponed by 10 positions, the champion in Langen's list (*ad* 1.773) of 25 instances of postponed relative pronouns.

**642 cognomen** 'a derived or allusive name' (OLD3), Verg. *A*. 7.671 *fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem*, 8.48 *(sus alba, ex quo urbem) condet cognominis Albam*, Prop. 4.4.93 *a duce Tarpeia mons est cognomen adeptus*, Liv. 1.3.9 *(Aventinus) cognomen colli fecit.*

---

[26] M.B.G. Keurentjes, *The Greek patronymics in -(ί)δας/ -(ί)δης*, *Mnemosyne* 50 (1997) 386-400

**famulumque ferebant** J.A. Wagner ventured to think that *ferebant* stood for *auferebant*, that is, his parents were present and carried the corpse away! Rather construe as 'the parents called him an attendant to Phasis and let his hair grow, in vain'; cf. Catul. 63.68 *ego ... Cybeles famula ferar?* ('shall I be called?'), 114.1 f. *Mentula dives / fertur.* For *famulus* as 'priest' cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.574 f. *hunc, dixere, tamen comitem famulumque sacrorum / cepimus*, although there are few convincing examples in TLL 6.1.267.61 ff. For *famula* cf. Verg. *A.* 11.557 f. *tibi, hanc, ..., Latonia virgo, / ipse pater famulam voveo*, or VF 6.502 *raptu famulae.*

The motif of a person begotten by the banks of a river in a bucolic context, as well as named after it, comes from Hom. *Il.* 4.475 ff. Σιμοείσιον, ὅν ποτε μήτηρ/ Ἴδηθεν κατιοῦσα παρ' ὄχθῃσιν Σιμόεντος/ γείνατ', ἐπει ῥα τοκεῦσιν ἅμ' ἕσπετο μῆλα ἰδέσθαι./ τοὔνεκά μιν κάλεον Σιμοείσιον. Another person named after a river as well as begotten by its banks is Satnius (*Il.* 14.443 ff. Σάτνιον ..., ὅν ἄρα Νύμφη τέκε, Νηῒς ἀμύμων,/ Ἤνοπι βουκολέοντι παρ' ὄχθας Σατνιόεντος, where wounded by Aias). However, also Hector's son known as Astyanax has as his real name Scamandrius (Hom. *Il.* 6.402).

The present scene is much bleaker because the mother is not mentioned; nor is the father Phasis, but Caucasus. Possibly we find here a trace of an old myth told in Ps.Plut. *de fluviis* 5.1 (GGM 2,637) about Caucasus ravishing Chione, daughter of the river Phasis; the son, however, later became king. Phasis pursued the nymph *Aea* in 5.424 ff. (with Wijsman). — Interestingly the attacking party, Colaxes, was himself begotten by the banks of a river (50).

A priest of a river is Hypsenor (*Il.* 5.77 ὅς ῥα Σκαμάνδρου/ ἀρητὴρ ἐτέτυκτο — θεὸς ὣς τίετο δήμῳ), but he was killed nevertheless; cf. 304 n. In 6.295 Aquites is also described as the *sacerdos* of *magnus Phasis*.

Thydrus Phasiades is the last of six adversaries laid low by Colaxes; he is young and innocent, as is Pallas in *Aeneid 10*, no doubt to give Jason the air of an avenger. In addition the situation resembles the one in 294 ff., where Gesander, fresh from bidding farewell to his father, nevertheless slays Aquites who is looking for his son. Here Colaxes, himself mourned by his heavenly father (624-629), has no respect for Thydrus Phasiades to whose well-being his parents paid the utmost care.

On the subject of the 'epitaph' for concluding a list of killings see Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.718-722, who refers to Williams 1983:196 ff.

**643 intonso ... crine** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.715 *intonsumque Gyan.* The epithet normally refers to youth as in Verg. *A.* 9.181 *intonsa iuventa* or

Ov. *Met.* 1.564 (with Bömer); the reference to his parents suggests youth. The present interpretation is discussed in the next n.

**nequiquam** Pathetically *nequiquam* is repeated from 623 where the heavenly father of Colaxes is greatly troubled about his fate, *in vain* — while now that same Colaxes kills someone whose parents were worried about him and made him a man under a vow, say a priest — in vain. The position of the word between *intonso* and *crine* indicates that it was in vain that they had left his hair unshorn. The hair must have been dedicated to a god, that is, to the river Phasis; in the *Thebaid* Parthenopaeus had let his blond hair grow for Trivia, to be dedicated to the altar at home after his safe return from the war. Apparently VF in his too brisk way suggests something similar for Phasiades. But it did not prevent his death; see 304 n.

I know of no other reference supporting the assumption that this indicates *priestship*, but TLL 7.2.29.82 on the basis of merely the present passage and Stat. *Theb.* 6.607 ff. has a separate paragraph for *intonsus* as a mark of priests.

*

644. iamque aliis instabat atrox cum diva supremas
645. rumpit iniqua colus victorque advenit Iason.
646. excipit hunc saeva sic fatus voce Colaxes:
647. 'vos Scythiae saturare canes Scythiasque volucres
648. huc miseri venistis?' ait saxumque prehensum
649. illius et dextrae gestamen et illius aevi,
650. concussa molitur humo, quod regia Iuno
651. flexit ad ignotum caput infletumque Monaesis.

**644 instabat atrox** Fucecchi quotes Luc. 2.658 *instat atrox* = Sil.2.250 and gives frequencies of the verb tracing an increase towards Silius. *atrox* = Colaxes.

**diva .../ ...(iniqua)** not indicating unjustness, but the harsh and inevitable character of fate (Verg. *A.* 12.150 *Parcarum .. vis inimica*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.9 *unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae* as well as VF 6.205 *fatis ... iniquis).* Vaalburg, unpublished, thought that *diva iniqua* alludes to the *dea dira* of Verg. *A.* 12.914 and therefore gives the conflict between Jason and Colaxes traits of the duel between Aeneas and Turnus in Book 12 of the Aeneid; see also 642 n. A further argument is that in 648 Colaxes hurls a heavy stone, but misses, just as Turnus does in *A.* 12.896.

**645 (supremas) colus** the end of the thread on the Fate's distaff (the whole for the part). For the word *colus* see 445 n. and for the notion of 'thread' cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.149 f. *iuvenumque senumque/ praecipitare colos*, Sen. *Her.O.* 1083 f. *compositos iterum deae/ supplent Eurydices colus.* For the rôle of the Parcae compare CIL 11.209 *erubuit nostras Atropos ipsa colus.*

**646 excipit saeva voce** Jason is brought to a halt by Colaxes. In 639 Colaxes was able to clear away Thydrus with his lance, *hasta*, but now he first has to try to bully his adversary and gain psychological ascendancy. *excipit* opens the line seven times in the *Aeneid*, five times in VF.

**saeva ... voce** Colaxes does so 'unaware of his own impending doom' (Shelton 398). For the combination cf. Luc. 5.364 f., Stat. *Theb.* 1.55 (Fucecchi).

**fatus** from the *ed. princeps* 1474, for *fletus* **V+L**, which would be indicative of a very peculiar attitude in Colaxes!

**647 saturare canes** ultimately based upon Hom. *Il.* 11.818 ἄσειν ἐν Τροίῃ ταχέας κύνας ἀργέτι δημῷ, 8.379 f. ἦτις καὶ Τρώων κορέει κύνας ἠδ' οἰωνοὺς/ δημῷ καὶ σάρκεσσι, 13.831 f.; cf. Verg. 9.485 f. *heu terra ignota canibus data praeda Latinis/ alitibusque iaces!* Several times a dying hero has to hear that his body will be thrown to the dogs or vultures: Hom. *Il.* 16.836, 22.335, 354, Verg. *A.* 10.559. Vaalburg (unpublished) thinks that saying so to a *living* hero is reckless.

**648 miseri** expressing contempt, not sympathy. Shelton 399 points out the dramatic irony; the reader knows Colaxes himself to be *miser* (629). Compare 324 *miser*, Hor. *S.* 2.3.14 *contemnere miser*, 1.2.64, Cic. *Q.Rosc.* 48 *improbi animi, miseri ingenii, nulli consilii.*

**(saturare) venistis** for an infinitive following verbs of coming and going, see K/S 680, Sz. 345.

**saxum** heaving an exceedingly heavy stone is an epic commonplace; cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.302 ὁ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ/ Τυδείδης, 12.445 Ἕκτωρ δ' ἁπάξας λαὰν φέρεν, ARh 3.1365 λάζετο δ' ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγαν περιηγέα πέτρον, Verg. A. 10.381, 415, 698 *(saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis)*, 12.531 *(Murranum) scopulo (excutit)*, 896 f. *saxum circumspicit ingens,/ saxum antiquum ingens*, imitated in Juv. 15.65, Stat. *Theb.* 2.559 *saxum ingens (rupibus evellit)*, Verg. *A.* 9.569 f. *Ilioneus saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis Lucetium (sternit).* See 644 n. for the significance of Verg. *A.* 12.896 (Turnus).

**649 gestamen** in 6.72 *gestamen* stood for the means of transport, here for something he had to bear, or could bear, that is, attributively as 'bearable'. 649 can be rendered as 'the biggest thing he could lift with the strength of his hands as fitted his youthful energy'. Compare Homer for boulders too heavy for normal men, yet fitting the hero's hand: *Il.* 16.735 (πέτρον) τόν οἱ περὶ χεὶρ ἐκάλυψεν, 21.403 λίθον εἵλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ, 20.286 (χερμάδιον) ὃ οὐ δύο κ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.457 *ista decent umeros gestamina nostros*, or VF.3.344 *sceptra manu veterum retinet, gestamen avorum.* The combination with *aevum* occurs also in 1.759 f. *ferrumne capessat/ imbelle atque aevi senior gestamina primi*... (Aeson's thoughts).

**650 concussa** *molitur humo* means 'he lifted the boulder from the ground', *concussa* that it was stuck in the ground and that he had to shake it loose.

**regia Iuno** as in 5.400 (with Wijsman); *quod regia Iuno* also in Verg. *A.* 1.443.

**651 (Iuno) flexit ad ... caput** cf. for similar protection 746 *(Pallas) viri circum caput amovet hastas*, Hom. *Il.* 5.187 βέλος ... ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ, 5.854, 4.130, 15.461 ff., 20.439, *Od.* 22.256, Verg. *A.* 9.745 f. (*Iuno detorsit)*, 10.331 f. *deflexit* .../ *alma Venus*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.737 f. *Phoebus ... aurigam iactus detorquet in Hersen.* / *ille ruit recedens* (with Smolenaars), Sil. 9.455 f. *a pectore Poeni* (=Hannibal)/ *Pallas in obliquum dextra detorserat hastam.* In other instances the weapon is not just turned away, but actually hits another person; see below.

**ad ignotum caput infletumque** for weapons diverted and hitting someone else cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.311 ff., 15.521 ff.; it is not before *Il.* 20.298 that Neptune shows a certain compassion, in this case calling Aeneas ἀναίτιος, as is found in Vergil *A.* 10.781 *sternitur infelix alieno vulnere* as well as here. (It is different when an arrow or spear without supernatural intervention just misses the target but hits another person, as in *Il.* 8.119 ff., 302 f., 13.410 f., 14.463 f., 15.430 ff., 17.609 f.). For *infletum* cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.386 f. κεῖται πὰρ νήεσσι νέκυς, ἄκλαυτος, ἄθαπτος,/ Πάτροκλος, Verg. *A.* 11.372 *nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba.* J.A. Wagner referred to Aesch. *Choeph.* 433 ἀνοίκμωκτον ἄνδρα. **C** (*vet.cod.)* read *in admoti caput in fatumque Monesi* (printed in ed. 1566). *ignotum caput infletumque* seems to make more sense and to be better poetry.

**Monaesis** *Monesi* **V+L+C**, but compare 189 *Monaesen.* The

old Greek *Thesaurus* knows of no other spelling than Μοναίσης except once Μόναισος in *Suid.* as 'name for a king'.

I propose emending to *Monaesis* simply because it is more likely that the same name as mentioned earlier is referred to, even though the Monaeses of 189 is dead. The conjecture *Monaesis* for *Monaesi* Mss. is a simple one and can be supported by the analogy of genitives like *Pharnacis* (Luc. 2.637, 10.476) and *Araxis* (Prop. 3.12.8)[27], in keeping with names of barbaric, eastern origin (see discussion by Housman 1910:826). In Sil. 7.604 *Monaesus* is on the Carthaginian side.

*

652. praeceps ille ruit. nato non depulit ictus
653. Iuppiter, Aesoniae vulnus fatale sed hastae
654. per clipeum, per pectus abit lapsoque cruentus
655. advolat Aesonides mortemque cadentis acerbat.
656. spargitur hinc miserisque venit iam notus Alanis.

**652 ille ruit** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.738 where *ille ruit* (with the same meaning 'he falls') follows directly after the line quoted in 651 *(Juno) flexit ad ... caput* n., an instance of direct influence of *Arg.6* upon *Theb.7* (Smolenaars XL). However, in view of *praeceps* there may also be influence of Verg. *A.* 12.684 f. *ac ueluti montis saxum de uertice praeceps cum ruit auulsum uento.*

**depulit ictus** cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.187 βέλος ὠκὺ κιχήμενον ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ, Verg. *A.* 5.726 f. *qui classibus ignem/ depulit*, 9.78 *ratibus quis depulit ignis?*; Langen quotes Ov. *Ep.* 14.130 *(Hypermestra) quam mortem fratri depulit, ipsa tulit.*

**653 Aesoniae** see 579 n.

**vulnus fatale sed hastae** the lance itself, *resulting in a deadly wound*, goes right through the shield right into his breast. For 'prospective wounds residing in missiles' (OLD1c) compare Verg. *A.* 9.745 f. *vulnus ... Iuno/ detorsit veniens*, Luc. 7.619 *letiferum ... volnus*, 8.384 *permittere volnera ventis*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.270 with Smolenaars. *sed* is postponed to the fourth place, which is exceptional; in VF 2.150 (see Poortvliet) it reaches the fifth place; Norden 404 cites *sed enim* in fourth position in Verg. *A.* 2.164.

---

[27] with accusative *Araxen* in, *e.g.*, Sen. *Med.* 373, Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.32.

**654 abit** 'sinks into', as in Verg. *A.* 9.698 ff. *cornus / ... stomacho infixa sub altum / pectus abit*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.631 *num totum abiit in corpora ferrum*; cf. VF 6.705 *concita cuspis abit.*

**cruentus** OLD3 translates 'insatiably cruel', 'savage'; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.11.1-4 *quisquis es, insultes qui casibus, improbe, nostris, / neque reum dempto fine cruentus agas, / natus es e scopulis et pastus lacte ferino, / et dicam silices pectus habere tuum, ...*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.28 f. (about Pluto) *regemque cruentum / temperat* ('bloodthirsty' Mozley). The word is applied to Hannibal in Luc. 4.789 f., Sil 10.265 f.

**655 (lapsoque ) advolat** the verb governing a dative, as in *A.* 12.356 *lapsoque supervenit.*

**mortemque ... acerbat** Langen cites 4.312 ff. where Pollux addresses the dying Amycus, and Hom. *Il.* 13.374 ff. where Idomeneus rails at the fallen Othryoneus; in addition cf. *Il.* 22.345 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 9.302 *sic premit adversos et acerbat vulnera dictis.* Another example is Verg. *A.* 10.897 f. *ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa / effera vis animi?* when Aeneas is on the point of killing him; that this particular line with *acer* is likely to have been in the poet's mind can be inferred from the preceding line *advolat Aeneas vaginaque eripit ensem*, to be compared with *advolat Aesonides.*

**656 spargitur** 'is sent' (OLD5c) as in 5.487 (with Wijsman); cf. 2.594 f. *Aeolios Fortuna nepotes / spargit*, Luc. 8.203 *sparsus ab Emathia fugit quicumque procella.*

**iam notus** see 6.123 n.; 'an all too familiar fearful presence'. Fucecchi quotes Catul. 64.339 (Achilles) *hostibus haud tergo, sed forti pectore notus.*

**Alanis** see 42 n.

*

at regina virum (neque enim deus amovet ignem)
persequitur lustrans oculisque ardentibus haeret.
et iam laeta minus praesentis imagine pugnae
castigatque metus et quas alit inscia curas
respiciens an vera soror, nec credere falsos
audet atrox vultus eademque in gaudia rursus
labitur et saevae trahitur dulcedine flammae.

D.5. *657-689. Third Medea interlude.*

Now follows the second part of the description of Medea's teichoscopy. Wetzel 93 noted that here is an example of *Steigerung*; we come now to the heart of the matter, Medea's heart, and the wording used has become fuller. What was *lustrat* (576) or *tueor* (589) becomes *persequitur lustrans*, what was *acres oculos* (579/80) becomes *oculis ardentibus haeret* (658). The war disappears from view and the transformation of Medea from a princess with hecatism for a hobby into a powerful sorceress passionately in love is completed. In section 681-689 Juno is gone, but her presence still lingers.

**657 at regina virum** *regina* denotes Medea (so already in 5.373 where, however, the term is the equivalent of ἄνασσα in the Homeric model; see Wijsman *ad loc.*). Romans were not exactly interested in royalty and applied *regina* to a princess; see Poortvliet 157. For *at regina* opening the line cf. (about Dido) Verg. *A.* 4.1, 4.296, 4.504 (see Hudson-Williams 27 f.), in all instances followed, as here, by an iambic disyllable. The words also occur in *A.* 12.54 in connexion with another doomed queen. The juxtaposition *regina virum* is discussed by Shelton 399: the two central characters are now both in focus.

**deus** there are three interpretations current: that *deus* stands for *Amor* or, as argued by Strand 104 just 'God', or that the word refers to Juno, advocated by Langen, who had to assume that *deus* could refer to a goddess. Hudson-Williams 27 shows that the particular word *deus* is derived from the context alluded to in these lines, Verg. *A.* 1.717 ff. *haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido / insidat quantus miserae deus* (*oculis haeret* in 658, *inscia* in 660). Hudson-Williams believes that *deus* = *Amor* in view of lines 673 f. *sed mole dei, quem pectore toto / iam tenet*, followed by *roseo in ore* (words that probably allude to ARh 3.298 ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, describing the influence of Eros), and Ehlers expressed his support. Strand preferred the opinion that *deus* is 'God, Heaven or the like', for which he gives some parallels from VF (4.652 f., 5.389 f., 5.254 f.). In my opinion Medea feels overcome by unknown emotions and ascribes these to *a* god (as in Ov. *Met.* 7.12 *nescio quis deus*, in combination with 7.55 *maximus intra me deus est*), while the audience is supposed to think: 'quite normal for someone *in love*'. Bessone 165 supports this interpretation and adds to the evidence by quoting Ov. *Medea fr.* 2 *feror huc illuc ut plena deo* and its twin Ov. *Ep.* 12.211 *viderit ista deus qui nunc mea pectora versat.*

**ignem** 'love'; see 454 n.

**658 oculisque ardentibus haeret** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.717 f. as quoted above, Prop. 1.3.19 *sed hic intentis haerebam fixus ocellis*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.723 f. *illa velut rupes immoto saxea visu/ haeret*, VF 5.376 f. *ille ... haeret in una/ defixus.*

**659 iam laeta minus praesentis imagine pugnae** as a mild negation 'not exactly exulting any longer in the performance of war right before her eyes'; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.616 *iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.* For *imagine pugnae* see 514 n. *(belli imago).*

**660 castigatque metus et ... curas** cf. 7.350 *curamque metumque* (of Medea on behalf of Jason), Sen. *dial.* 4*(IraII)*.6.2 *iram ipsam castigandum hebet (virtus).*

**inscia** after Verg. *A.* 1.718 quoted above; 'she knows not why' (Mozley); it is more like 'unwilling, since she does not understand their cause' than the more usual 'subconsciously' (as in VF 3.40). *quas alit inscia curas* may allude to Verg. *A.* 4.1 *at regina ... saucia cura.*

**661 respiciens an** different from 2.270 where *respiciens ut* is rendered by Poortvliet 162 as 'looking around to make sure that'.

**an vera soror** doubt with respect to the identity of her companion seems to heighten the credibility of the story; doubt has crept in, but is suppressed (676).

**662 atrox** here the word means, as Mozley saw (in the wake of Burman), that what she should do (but does not, *nec*) is to 'harden herself' and refuse to pay credit to the counterfeit features. 'She does not dare to be *atrox* and <accordingly> believe that face a false one'. *adhuc* Delz is an excellent suggestion, but not really necessary.

**eademque in gaudia** Burman thought *eadem* refer to Medea, which would give the sentence a heavy academic air. The more logical *eademque gaudia* fits *rursus* and forms a fine contrast with *nec credere falsos <esse>/ audet.* For *gaudia* in an erotic context cf. 4.164 *Hesionam et Phrygiae peteret cum gaudia nuptae*, Ov. *Am.* 2.3.2 *Veneris gaudia.* Fucecchi quotes Ov. *Ep.* 12.22 *haec de te gaudia sola feram.*

**663 labitur** cf. Prop. 1.11.15 *ut solet amoto labi custode puella.*

**saevae** *saeva* **V**, *saevae* **L**. The words *saeva dulcedine* (not used elsewhere) amount to an oxymoron, but *saevae dulcedine flammae* no less so. *Saevas extinguere flammas* occurs in Ov. *Rem.* 53. Fucecchi cites

Nordera 43 where the model is shown to be ARh 3.290 γλυκερῇ δὲ κατείβετο θυμὸν ἀνίῃ.

**trahitur** passively (see 610, 667 nn.); cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.19 *sed trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido.*

**flammae** 'love', as in Catul. 61.169 ff. *tibi/ pectore uritur intimo/ flamma,* Verg. *A.* 1.673 f. *cingere flamma/ reginam,* Ov. *Rem.* 53 *saevas extinguere flammas.*

*

664. ac velut ante comas ac summa cacumina silvae
665. lenibus adludit flabris levis Auster, at illum
666. protinus immanem miserae sensere carinae,
667. talis ad extremos agitur Medea furores.

**664-667** simile. The many *-l-* sounds of 664/665 recall the english word 'lullaby'. With the word *illum* the sudden change comes: line 666 is characterized by the many *-m-* sounds (cf. Verg. *G.* 1.356 ff. *ventis surgentibus ... litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur*), denoting something threatening. The model may have been ARh 2.1098 ff., where a mild Boreas changes at night into a gale, shattering the ship of the sons of Phrixus, in view of 1100-1102 αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἠμάτιος μὲν ἐν οὔρεσι φύλλ' ἐτίνασσεν/ τυτθὸν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀήσυρος ἀκρεμόνεσσιν·/ νυκτὶ δ' ἔβη πόντονδε πελώριος, ... In Verg. *A.* 7.528 the gleam of the Latin weapons is compared to the gleam of waves made by a rising wind, which afterwards increases until the sea swells and forms waves that reach to the skies. That more external description may also be a source for the present psychological simile. Smolenaars 1991:61 shows that Statius in *Theb.* 7.625 ff. (*ventus uti primas struit intra nubiles vires,/ lenis adhuc, frondesque et aperta cacumina gestat,/ mox rapuit nemus et montes patefecit opacos*) derives *cacumina* and *(ventus) lenis* from VF 6.664 f. For the comparison of love to a breeze growing into a gale Fucecchi refers to Sappho frg. 47, Ibicus 286, ARh 3.967.

**664 comas** that is, 'leaves' as in Verg. *G.* 2.368 *tum stringe comas, A.* 2.629, VF 1.777 *taxi frons hirta comis.*

**ante** adverb, 'first'.

**cacumina silvae** 'treetops', as in (TLL 3.10.68 ff.) Ov. *Fast.* 3.329 *constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina silvae,* Verg. *G.* 2.307 *per ramos ... perque alta cacumina,* Ov. *Fast.* 2.439 = Stat. *Theb.* 10.144 = Ov. *Met.* 1.346, 8.257 *nec facit in ramis altoque cacumine nidos (perdix),* Stat. *Theb.*

7.626 (see above). Both the topmost branches and the leaves come from ARh just quoted.

**665 lenibus ... flabris** cf. Verg. *G.* 3.198 f. *campique natantes/ lenibus horrescunt flabris* (with Mynors: '*lenibus* perhaps 'rippling', emphasizing not the force of the wind but its speed'), Soph *Ai.* 558, Stat. *Theb.* 7.625 ff. (see above).

**levis Auster** for mild breezes see 747 n. Compare Verg. *A.* 3.70 *lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum*, which suggests that VF quite consciously modified his Vergilian model.

**666 immanem** corresponds to πελώριος in ARh just quoted.

**miserae ... carinae** the combination in (TLL 3.458.37 f.) Stat. *Theb.* 9.94, Sil. 14.316.

**sensere** ed. 1498, lacuna in **V+L**, *censere* **C**. Ships do not normally have an opinion (*censere)*, it is easier to endow them the poetic licence of having feelings (compare OLD 1b of inanimate objects). The perfect tense seems to have gnomic force.

**667 agitur** compare 610 *agi* with the same comment. Now it is Medea's turn to be a pawn in the divine game.

**furores** 'love' (TLL 6.1.1631.74 ff.) as in Hor. *S.* 2.3.325 *mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores*; cf. *furiae* in Verg. *G.* 3.244 quoted in 657 n. *ignem.*

*

668. interdum blandae derepta monilia divae
669. contrectat miseroque aptat flagrantia collo,
670. quaque dedit teneros aurum furiale per artus,
671. deficit; ac sua virgo deae gestamina reddit
672. non gemmis, non illa levi turbata metallo,
673. sed facibus, sed mole dei, quem pectore toto
674. iam tenet. extremus roseo pudor errat in ore.

**668 interdum** as in Verg. *A.* 1.718 f. *et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido/ insidat quantus miserae deus.*

**blandae ... monilia divae** the *monile* is evidently the agent inducing desire and cannot be anything else but the *cingulum* given earlier by Venus to Juno (471). We have also to assume that Juno has given the ornament to Medea to wear. Would Medea, fully familiar with

witchcraft and using a *monile* filled with 'herbs' herself in 8.18, without more ado accept a necklace from her sister? And then, how could the 'belt' (cf. 6.477 *cingitur arcanis Saturnia laeta venenis*) change into a necklace? VF is at his most enigmatic here. The word *cingulum* can be used for a band, for a sword belt (Verg. *A.* 12.942), but also for a dog's collar (see 471 n.). Compare, however, Mart. 14.206 *collo necte, puer, meros amores / ceston de Veneris sinu calentem.* Langen gives a long and learned excursus about the *cingulum* of Venus *ad* 6.471, quoting Mart. 6.13.5 f. *Acidalio ... nodo / ... colle ... tuo* and some references from Christian Greek, and concluding that a *cingulum* may be worn around the neck. Anyhow Martial continues (6.13.6) *a te Iuno petat* ***ceston*** *et ipsa Venus.* Compare also ARh 3.867 f. where such a 'girdle' is called a μίτρη, worn 'around the breast', the very place where Medea places her herbs, and from where she brings these out in 3.1013. The combination with ARh 1.288 makes one think that μίτρη stands for some kind of 'underwear'. For *blanda* compare Ov. *Am.* 3.2.55 and Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.84 *blanda Venus*; VF 3.534 = Juno! — "Schon Venus' *monilia*, mit denen Juno Medeas leidenschaft entfesselt, nehmen in 6.669 ff. die Rache an Creusa mittels der vergifteten Krone vorweg" (Bessone 171; cf. Sen. *Med.* 573, Fucecchi *ad loc.*).

**derepta** Vossius, *direpta* **V+L**: cf. Verg. *A.* 10.475 *vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ensem*, Ov. *Met.* 10.475 *nitidum vagina deripit ensem* (with Smith on the phenomenon of 'meta-allusion'), Stat. *Theb.* 3.411 f. *(textum sublime) deripiunt*, Sil. 12.309 *derepta monilia collo.* For a similar case of confusion between *de-* and *di-* see 754 n.

**669 contrectat** she 'fingers' the necklace; the touch of it seems to work magic, immediately setting Medea on fire. Buried in TLL 4.774.14 is a conjecture for Sen. *Med.* 680: *triste laeva contrectans sacrum manu / pestes vocat* where **A** reads *complicans*, **E** *conprecans*, both unsuitable, and Bücheler proposed *conparans*, one of many conjectures, none of them very satisfactory. I have not found *contrectans* printed in a text; however, in the context of Medea summoning her power *(omnem turbam malorum, arcana secreta abdita*, 679) the word *sacrum* might refer to something like a magic necklace.

**miseroque aptat ... collo** *aptare collo* more often used in fitting a noose, as in Ov. *Met.* 10.381 *aptabat ... vincula collo* (see Bömer *ad loc.).* Could this be irony on the part of the author? However, cf. Sil. 2.453 f. *nova tegmina latis / aptat concutiens humeris.* In Verg. *A.7* Allecto lets go one of her snakes; (351 f.) *fit tortile collo / aurum ingens coluber. ... ac dum prima lues udo*

*sublapsa veneno / pertemptat* ...; this passage may have been a model, in view of 755 where Medea runs home 'like a maenad', corresponding to *A.* 7.373-405 where a long description of Bacchic frenzy is given.

**670 dedit ... per artus** a good example of root *do**, related to Greek τίθημι (as in 347). *qua* has the sense of *quacumque*, 'wherever'.

**aurum furiale** 'a golden object as from the furies'= 'a madness-inducing jewel'; cf. 7.254 f. *occupat amplexu Venus et furialia figit / oscula permixtumque odiis inspirat amorem*, Verg. *A.* 7.374 f. *penitusque in viscera lapsum / serpentis* (of Allecto) *furiale malum*, Ov. *Met.* 4.506 f. *vergit furiale venenum / pectus in amborum praecordiaque intima movit ( Tisiphone)*, Claud. 20 *(Eutr.II)*.188 *furiale per oscula virus* (of Bellona). The associations bring Juno down to the level of the Furies.

**671 deficit** 'she has lost all strength'; cf. 5.446 *deficit in thalamis* (Creusa), Verg. *A.* 4.688 f. *illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus / deficit*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.597 f. *seniles / deficiunt gressus.*

**sua ... gestamina** 'the goddess' own ornament'; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 32.23 *haruspices eorum (Indici) vatesque imprimis religiosum id (curalium) gestamen amoliendis periculis arbitrantur*, 33.8 *ferreum anulum ... vinculumque id, non gestamen, intellegi voluit*, Apul. *Met.* 11.9 *mulieres ... vario laetantes gestamine. sua* refers to *deae*, not to *virgo*; see K/S 1.601 f., Sz.175. *gestamen* was also used in 649.

**672 non gemmis, non illa levi turbata metallo** what carries Medea away is not the quality of the jewel, but the hidden power of the goddess of love (and her son).

**levi** 'fickle', personification; cf. Catul. 61.97 f. *non tuus levis in mala deditus vir adultera*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.9 22 *tu levior cortice*, Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.143 *quamvis infida levisque* (Fortuna). Also in *levis et festina cupido* (472). The sense is related to 'for amusement only, not serious', as in Cic. *de Orat.* 1.18 *histrionum levis ars*, Ov. *Tr.* 2.339 *ad leve rursus opus, iuvenalia carmina, veni.* In 2.323 I read *levior deus* as '*deus = Amor*', with Burman and against Poortvliet. I fail to see what a 'light' metal would be in those days (gold would be very heavy), but in view of the literal meaning of *levis* there can be a contrast implied between *levi metallo* and *mole dei*, parallel to the contrast between *gemmis* and *facibus.*

**673 sed ... sed** for a list of instances of anaphora of *sed* see Strand 19.n.1.

**facibus ... dei** the torches of love, now clearly Amor's. For *fax* applied to 'love' cf. (TLL 6.1.403.31 ff.) Hor. *Carm.* 3.9.13 f. *me torret face mutua ... Calais*, elegiac poets since Tib. 2.4.6 *uror, io. remove, saeva puella, faces*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.636 ff. *dilectae virginis ignem/ aequaevamque facem .. dissimulas.*

**mole dei, quem ... (tenet)** 'the strong influence' (Mozley) 'of Amor, whom she has absorbed'. Compare Verg. *A.* 4.90 *quam* (Dido) *simul ac tali persensit peste teneri.*

**pectore toto** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.717 quoted in 657 n. and *A.* 7.356 *animus toto percepit pectore flammam* (of Allecto).

**674 extremus roseo pudor errat in ore** her face is not blushing from nature, as in Verg. *A.* 9.5 *roseo Thamantias ore*, but from shame, or, rather, the last remnant of it; compare Ov. *Ars* 2.556 *ne fugiat ficto fassus ab ore pudor*, as well as VF 7.462 *cessit ab ore pudor.* The words may allude to ARh 3.298 ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος (Hudson-Williams 27 f.) describing the effect of Eros. According to Wetzel 94 shame had nothing to do with Medea's changing colour in the course of the development of her love, which is just deepening; but I fail to see what he makes of *pudor.* (He may have applied ARh 3.725 where Medea's cheeks flush at the very chance of helping Jason). In Sen. *Med.* 900 *abeat expulsus pudor* the heroine has completed her transformation from a shy protected princess with certainly vestiges of maidenly shame into an embittered fiend.

*

675. ac prior his: 'credisne patrem promissa daturum,
676. o soror, Argolicus cui dis melioribus hospes
677. contigit? aut belli quantum iam restat acerbi?
678. heu quibus ignota sese pro gente periclis
679. obicit!' haec fantem medio in sermone reliquit
680. incepti iam Iuno potens securaque fraudis.

**675 ac prior his** compare for the elliptic phrase Verg. *A.* 8.469 (incomplete hexameter) *rex prior haec:*, 9.560 *increpat his victor:*, 2.348 *incipio super his. ac prior* also in 458. See 267 n. on *prior.*

**promissa daturum** 'that our father will give what he has promised' (in 5.540 f. *vellera victor ... dabo*); after all she knows that, as her uncle said (22 f.), *neque enim Aeetae promissa fidemque/ esse loco*, or, in the words of Juno (5.289 f.) *scio perfida regis corda quidem.* Compare (Summers 38) Ov. *Met.* 7.94 *servatus promissa dato* (Medea to Jason).

**676 dis melioribus** cf. 1.674 f. *tua numina, rector, / iam fuerint meliora mihi*, Verg. *A.* 3.498 f. *melioribus ... / auspiciis*, 6.546 *melioribus utere fatis.* For *melior* in the sense of 'more favourable' compare VF 2.369 *divae melioris*, 1.675 *(tua numina) iam fuerint meliora mihi*, Verg. *A.* 12.179 *iam melior, iam diva, precor.* Mozley is probably right in translating 'so kind a Providence': the coming of the stranger is a god-sent joy.

**hospes** cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.21 f. (Medea's soliloquy) *quid in hospite, regia virgo, / ureris?*, 7.89 f. *dextramque prehendit / hospes* (Jason proposing to her), Sen. *Med.* 22 (Medea contemptuously) *iam notus hospes limen alienum expetat.*

**677 contigit** now that her father has been so fortunate as to have these Argive strangers sent by the gods.

**belli ... acerbi** cf. 655 *mortemque cadentis acerbat.*

**678 heu** fairly frequent in VF (43 times, more than in van Dam 87), against 48 in the twice as large *Thebaid*, 35 in the *Aeneid*, 12 times in Ov. *Met.*, 14 times in Lucan, 54 in Silius (according to van Dam), from which the emotional colouring of their stories by the silver Latin poets emerges clearly.

**ignota ... pro gente** cf. 7.320 where the same Medea, struggling with herself, protests that a stranger will not get help from her, *neque opem ignoto viresque daturam.* For the combination compare Liv. 5.32.7 *(Gallos) ... quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat*, Man. 1.378 *ignotae hominum gentes.*

**679 (sese ...) obicit** as if a victim in the amphitheatre, Cic. *Tusc.* 5.98 *bestiis ... quae, ut quicquid obiectum est, .... non quaerunt amplius. obi-* scans as a long syllable; see Wijsman *ad* 5.627.

**medio in sermone reliquit** cf. Verg. *A.* 4.277 *mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit* (Cyllenius), 9.657 *mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit* (Apollo). Gods leave mortals suddenly, but there is a small difference from Vergil here in that Juno does not leave behind 'her visibility by mortals', but leaves the speaker herself.

**680 incepti ... potens securaque fraudis** for *potens* cf. Verg. *A.* 7.541 *promissi dea ... potens* with Fordyce, Stat. *Theb.* 11.57 f. *iamque potens scelerum ... / ... Tisiphone*, 3.48 *Pan nemorum bellique potens*; *securus fraudis* is only found here (TLL 6.1.1273.42 f.). For *securus* in the sense of 'confident' cf. VF 8.206 *nec coniugii secura futuri.*

*

681. imminet e celsis audentius improba muris
682. virgo nec ablatam sequitur quaeritve sororem.
683. at quotiens vis dura ducum densique repente
684. Aesoniden pressere viri cumque omnis in unum
685. imber iit, totiens saxis pulsatur et hastis.

**681/682** just as in a *cum inversum* construction, the more important point (that Medea does not bother at all about where her sister is going, and stays put) is placed second.

**681 e celsis ... muris** Medea looking down from the battlements can be compared with Scylla (575-601 n., 38 f. *impetus est illi, liceat modo, ferre per agmen/ virgineos hostile gradus*) or (Fucecchi) with Argia in Stat. *Theb.* 4.89 ff. *de turre suprema/ attonitam totoque exstantem corpore longe/ respicit Argian*, Antigone in *Theb.* 11.355 ff. *Antigone ... volat Ogygii fastigia muri/ exsuperare furens*, Deianira in *Ach.* 2.23 ff. *turre procul summa lacrimis comitata sororum ... pendebat coniunx.*

**audentius** ed. 1481; *audientibus* **V+L**; *ardentius* Damsté. Both conjectures fit the sense required, the Renaissance one is closer to the Mss.

**improba** 'reckless', transgressing conventional standards by showing interest in a man. See also 702 n.

**682 ablatam** cf. Verg. *A.* 3.258 *et in silvam pennis ablata refugit* (Celaeno), 11.867 *Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum.*

**683 vis dura ducum** Sil. 3.161 *tandem sollicito cessit vis dura labori*; *durus* has here the sense of 'implacable', as it normally has with *bellum* (VF 6.545) together with 'strenuous' as in *genus durum*, or Verg. *G.* 2.170 *Scipiadas duros bello.* Notice the alliteration in *dura ducum densique.*

**repente** although preferred by Statius, VF has less often than *subito* the archaic *repente* (Fucecchi).

**684 Aesoniden pressere** for *premere* with a personal object (in the sense of 'to attack' (OLD 7) cf. Caes. *Gal.* 1.52.6 *nostram aciem premebant*, Verg. *A.* 9.330 *armigerumque Remi premit*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.589 *Aetolumque Acamantha premunt*, 9.255 f. *premit agmina Thebes/ Hippomedon.*

**omnis in unum** cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.135 quoted below (687 n.); see further 371 n. The words *omnis in unum it manus* (371 f.) and *telorum im-*

*manis in unum it globus* (380f.) are recalled; Jason is compared to Gesander. Jason, however, will not fail.

**685 imber** the shower of stones and arms; see 5.608 with Wijsman.

**totiens ... pulsatur** Medea reacts to Jason's afflictions as if she herself were subjected to them. Aptly Burman compares Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.220 ff. *talis Olympiaca iuvenem cum spectat arena/ qui genuit, plus ipse ferit, plus corde sub alto/ caeditur.* Relevant to the whole situation is Ov. *Met.* 7.15 f. where Medea asks herself *cur quem modo denique vidi/ ne pereat timeo?* Fucecchi observes the same rhythm in *saxis pulsatur et hastis* as in Verg. *A.* 4.249 *vento pulsatur et imbri.*

*

686. primaque ad infesti Lexanoris horruit arcus,
687. alta sed Aesonium supra caput exit harundo
688. teque, Caice, petit. coniunx miseranda Caico
689. linquitur et primo domus imperfecta cubili.

**686-689.** Lexanor misses Jason, hits Caicus who leaves at home a young widow, 'to be pitied'. Vaalburg (unpublished) points out the contrast between Caicus and Jason himself, watched by his wife-to-be. And can it be implied that Medea, once won by Jason, will be herself a piteous spouse?

**686 Lexanoris** Heeren 17 refers to some other Greek names ending in -ανωρ.

**687 Aesonium ... caput** not simply the expression of 579 repeated, but referring to a later phase of the story of the earth-born warriors in Ov. *Met.* 7.131 f. *quos ubi viderunt praeacutae cuspidis hastas /in caput Haemonii iuvenis torquere parantes,/ demisere metu vultumque animumque Pelasgi./ ipsa quoque extimuit, quae tutum fecerat illum:/ utque peti vidit iuvenem tot ab hostibus unum,/ palluit et subito sine sanguine sedit.*

**exit harundo** *exit* as in Ov. *Met.* 7.778 *calamus levis exit ab arcu*; *harundo* 'arrow', as in Verg. *A.* 4.73, Ov. *Met.* 10.526. Fucecchi adds Sen. *Her. F.* 119 *emisso nervo tela*, Luc. 4.201 f. *qua lancea dextra/ exierit*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.701 *multo felicior exit* (the discus).

**688 Caice** in Vergil Caicus is the name of a Trojan, after a Mysian river (*G.* 4.370, Ov. *Ars* 3.196). On personal names derived from rivers

see 192. The apostrophe evokes pathos, as in 103, 317, Verg. *A.* 5.840 *te, Palinure, petens* or 7.760 *te liquidi flevere lacus,* 12.542 *te, ... Aeole.*

**petit** possibly derived from Ov. *Met.* 7.135 *utque peti vidit iuvenem,* quoted in its context in 687 n.

**coniunx miseranda** a main theme of Ovid's *Heroides,* whether the heroine already is or feels abandoned (Phyllis, Oenone, Hypsipyle, Dido, Deianira, Ariadne, Medea) or whether she is soon to be a widow (Laodamia), and here apparently referring to Homer's story of Protesilaus; see below. Burman refers to Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.21 f. *liquenda <est> tellus et domus et placens/ uxor,* Stat. *Theb.* 8.385 (Mars) *aboletque domus, conubia, natos,* VF 2.290 f. *linquis inanes/ pube domus,* and comments in grand professorial style: *Et haec ratio erat, cur* νεογάμοι *prioris anni vacationem a militia apud Graecos haberent, ut alibi docui.* Compare also the words of Sarpedon in Hom. *Il.* 5.686 ff. ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλε ἔγωγε,/ ...,/ εὐφρανέειν ἄλοχον τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἱόν, the same person who had earlier expressly referred to his home ἔνθ' ἄλοχόν τε φίλην ἔλιπον. Then there is the case of Protesilaus (*Il.* 2.698 ff.), 11.242 f. where Iphidamas falls, ἀπὸ μνηστῆς ἀλόχου ... κουριδίης, 14.503 f. about Promachus' wife who will never enjoy his homecoming, 17.28 where Menelaus boasts that Hyperenor will never be a joy to his wife and parents again, in combination with 17.36 where Hyperenor's brother refers to the poor widow. In *Od.* 8.522 ff. a widow, later to be led away into captivity, throws herself on the body of her dead husband; in *Od.* 19.265 f. Odysseus himself says to Penelope that many a woman is lamenting the man to whom she bore children. In Stat. *Theb.* 8.561 *bella vetant taedas* of Atys, to fall at the hands of Tydeus; in Sil. 2.554 ff. Tiburna mourns for her husband, but her likeness is assumed perversely by the Fury. In Sil.3.133 Hannibal converses with his *fidissima coniunx* (133); *abripitur divulsa marito* (154). — It is only in Hom. *Il.* 19.287 ff. that one of the bereaved herself is heard, Briseis, widowed by Achilles and having lost her champion Patroclus as well.

**689 linquitur** after ἐλέλειπτο in Hom. *Il.* 2.700; see below.

**primo domus imperfecta cubili** in Homer the story is told of Protesilaus, who left behind his young wife and his house, δόμος ἡμιτελής (*Il.* 2.701). The word ἡμιτελής has a strong connnotation not of 'not yet completed' *(imperfecta)*, but of 'not provided with the most essential thing', that is, children; compare *Anthol. Graec. (Diod).* 7.627 ἡμιτελῆ θάλαμοόν τε και ἐγγύθι νυμφικὰ λέκτρα,/ κοῦρε, λιπὼν ὀλοὴν οἶμον ἔβης 'Αΐδου, Verg. *A.* 10.720 *infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos.* In

ARh 3.659 f. a young bride bewails her fallen husband πάρος ταρπήμεναι ἄμφω/ δήνεσιν ἀλλήλων.

*

690. Regius Eois Myraces interpres ab oris
691. venerat ut Colchos procul atque Aeetia Parthis
692. foedera donato non inrita iungeret auro.
693. tum iuvenem terris Parcae tenuere Cytaeis
694. ac subiti Mavortis amor: simul armiger ibat
695. semivir impubemque gerens sterilemque iuventam.

D.6. *690-724. Myraces episode.*

Even the flamboyant Myraces cannot break through Medea's infatuation with Jason. She is still there, but makes way for the final battle-scenes. Once more a section of 34 lines (cf. A=32, D.2.a+b=35, D.2.c=33, D.4.b=36, D.5=33, E=36).

**690 regius ... interpres** the messenger of the gods (Mercury in Verg. *A.* 4.356) or an 'ambassador'. *regius* may indicate that Myraces was himself of royal blood (cf. Verg. *A.* 5.297 *regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores)*, or that he was simply ambassador to the king (Aeetes), or, less likely, 'on behalf of his own king', as in Luc. 10.468 f. *missusque satelles/ regius.* The position of *regius* in the line gives it anyhow strong emphasis and can be compared to Verg. *A.* 1.677 f. *regius ... puer* (Ascanius), or *A.* 5.297 (above).

**Eois ... ab oris** from the farthest East; no other instance of the combination in TLL 9.2.865.50 ff. *venire ab ... oris* is high epic style, witness Verg. *A.* 1 f. *qui primus ab oris/ Italiam ... venit,* 1.369 *sed vos qui tandem? quibus aut venistis ab oris?*

**Myraces** the name used for a river in 50 (on personal names derived from rivers see 192 n.). As argued there, the river is situated in Scythia and therefore not a very likely name for a Parthian.

**691 venerat** cf. Verg. *A.* 2.343 *(Coroebus) /venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore.*

**692 (Aeetia Parthis) foedera donato ... iungeret auro** 'Myraces had come to join the faraway Colchians with the Parthians into a treaty of Aeetes (with the Parthian King), with success, after donating a considerable sum'. *Colchos et foedera iungere Parthis* is slightly zeugmatic,

the Colchians are themselves joined to the Parthians, the treaty with the Parthians is entered into. For *procul* used as an attribute see Wijsman *ad* 5.578.

**693 Parcae tenuere** with the doom of Homeric (*Il.* 12.326 f.) ἔμπης γὰρ Κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο,/ μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι.

**694 subiti Mavortis amor** see 156 f. n. Because in 156 *sollicitat nec Martis amor, sed fama Cytaeae/ virginis* the word *Cytaeus* is also found (693), one is tempted to believe that 156 has directly influenced the choice of the words used here. In addition compare *ibant* (160), *ibat* 694. It is as if the end of the catalogue has been used in the rounding off of the book. The whole Book 6 is about 'love of war'; the words are used slightly before the battle starts, and used here again, slightly before its end. *subiti* is enallage for *subitus amor.*

**armiger** in fairly general use as a substantive since Verg. *A.* 2.477. On adjectives in *-ger* see 393 n. Fucecchi compares the *puer delicatus* Cinyps, favourite of Hannibal: Sil.12.245 f. *ambrosiae cecidere comae, violataque cervix/ marmoreum in iugulum collo labente recumbit.*

**695 semivir** the attitude in Rome towards human castration was strongly unfavourable, witness Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.9 f. *contaminato cum grege turpium/ morbo virorum, Epod.* 9.13, Liv. 35.15.4 *spadones quosdam, talium ministeriis facinorum acceptos regibus,* Luc. 10.133 f. *nec non infelix ferro mollita iuventus/ atque exsecta virum,* Sen. *ben. V.* 16.6 *ipsa (patria) tributum spadonibus penderet!, Ep.* 66.53 *aliquis in mulierculum ex viro versus,* Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.74 *nunc frangere sexum atque hominem mutare nefas,* Claud. 18(*Eutr.I*).297 f. *quodcumque virorum/ est decus, eunuchi scelus est.* The emperors Domitian and Nerva formally prohibited the practice of *castratio* (RE 3.1772 f.). Vergil airs the critical Roman view of the eastern practice in *A.* 12.99 *semiviri Phrygis* (Aeneas in the mouth of Turnus), 4.215 ff. *ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu/ Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem/ subnexus* (spoken by eastern Iarbas!). The word *semivir* is applied to *Jason* by Styrus in 8.347, with sarcasm on the author's part in the tradition of Vergil's *semiviri Phrygis.*

**impubemque gerens sterilemque iuventam** for *impubis* as 'not participating in sexual activity' cf. Caes. *Gal.* 6.21.4 *qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem,* Mart. 6.2.1 f. *lusus erat .../ lusus et immeritos exsecuisse mares,* Aug. *Civ.* 15.15 *patres illos aetate longa aut impuberes aut coniugibus caruisse.*

*

696. ipse pharetratus residens ad frena tapetis
697. nunc levis infesto procurrit in agmina curru,
698. nunc fuga conversas spargit mentita sagittas.
699. at viridem gemmis et eoae stamine silvae
700. subligat extrema patrium cervice tiaran
701. insignis manicis, insignis acinace dextro;
702. improba barbaricae procurrunt tegmina plantae.
703. nec latuere diu saevum spolia illa Sirenem
704. perque levem et multo maculatam murice tigrin
705. concita cuspis abit. subitos ex ore cruores
706. saucia tigris agit vitamque effundit erilem.

**696 pharetratus** Wagner (*fortasse* ...), *pharetratis* **V+L**, *Euphrataeis* Sudhaus in Kramer. Because *ipse* is *residens*, an epithet for *tapetis* is expected. 'With a quiver' is the standard sense of *pharetratus*, but applied to a carpet (it is usual for persons) sounds queer. Ehlers, obelizing around *pharetratis*, tentatively suggested *cathedratis*, 'with cushioned seats', discussed in Ehlers 1985:344. Courtney defended *pharetratis* .. *tapetis*, 'with arrows all over the seat-covers', citing *tapetia beluata, papaverata, scutulata* (Pl. *Ps.* 147, Plin. *Nat.* 8.195). Although it is obvious that providing an epithet for the word in final position gives familiar epic diction, a saddle-cloth 'with arrow-shaped spots' seems too fortuitous in this context of Parthian archers where a full quiver is more or less a must.

Morel proposed *puer stratis* (where *ipse puer*, the same words as in 707, seems inappropriate), Delz 1991:13 *<su>per stratis*, which results in fine Latin. Nevertheless I feel that the very slight emendation in the conjecture of Wagner *pharetratus* cannot be passed over. — The 'East' is full of archers: VF 5.559 f. *tota suis Aurora pharetris.*

**697/698.** The change in subject between the two *nunc* clauses is peculiar. 'Sometimes Myraces lightly steers his chariot into the Scythian ranks; sometimes a feigned flight scatters arrows backwards'. The phenomenon has traits of enallage, since it is Myraces who in his flight will scatter the arrows. In the relationship between lines 697 and 698 *infesto* ... *curru* ('forwards') is balanced by *conversas* ... *sagittas* ('backwards'), with the verb in the middle in each case; *levis* and *fuga* balance metrically and both express speed.

**697 levis** 'fast'; see 240 n. Parthians are *leves* in Verg. *G.* 4.314, Sen. *Med.* 710 (Fucecchi).

**infesto ... curru** Sen. *Phaed.* 615 f. *non, si per ignes ire et infesta agmina (sc. iubeas), / cuncter paratis ensibus pectus dare*, Liv. 7.39.16 *convolsis signis infesto agmine ... perveniunt.*

**procurrit** the conjunction of *procurrit* ('runs ahead) ... *curru* and in a different sense 702 *procurrunt* ('jut out, protrude') is remarkable.

**698 fuga conversas spargit mentita sagittas** the Parthian custom of shooting arrows backwards, a *topos*; cf. Catul. 11.6 *sagittiferosve Parthos*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.17 f. *(timet) miles sagittas et celerem fugam / Parthi*, Verg. *A.* 11.654 *spicula converso fugientia derigit arcu*, *G.* 3.31, Ov. *Rem.* 155 ff. *ecce, fugax Parthus,... / ... / vince ... Parthasque sagittas*, Ov. *Ars* 1.209 *tergaque Parthorum*, Sen. *Phaed.* 816 *tela modo spargere Parthico*, *Oed. 118* f., Luc. 1.230 *missa Parthi post terga sagitta*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.597 and some more in Fucecchi. For *spargere sagittas* cf. Verg. *A* 11.650 *spargens hastilia* and Enn. *Ann.* S266=V284 *hastati spargunt hastas*, Ov. *Met.* 1.253 *sparsurus fulmina* (Fuchecchi).

**conversas** 'backwards' as in 7.634 *conversae protinus hastae*, Verg. *A.* 11.654 *spicula converso fugientia derigit arcu*, 12.368 f. *agmine cedunt / conversaeque ruunt acies*, Liv. 10.18.12 *extemplo conversis signis abiturum.*

**699 viridem gemmis** Burman compared Petr. 40 *smaragdum ad quam rem viridem*, Ov. *Am.* 2.6.21 (to the parrot) *tu poteras fragiles pinnis hebetare zmaragdos*. Let us take notice of Tib. 2.4.27 f. *o pereat quicumque legit viridesque smaragdos / et niveam Tyrio mutice tingit ovem*, implying that luxury breeds greed in girls.

**eoae stamine silvae** a 'thread' from an Oriental forest can only refer to *silk* from China; cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 667 *(quae) legit Eois Ser arboribus.* The whole scene depicts Myraces as an effeminate inhabitant of the Orient, modelled upon Paris (Hom. *Il.* 3.16, 6.506 + 350, 13.765 ff.), Eunaeus (Stat. *Theb.* 7.656 f. *et iubet inbellis Tyrio subtemine thorax, / bracchiaque in manicis et pictae vincula plantae* with Smolenaars), Atys (Stat. *Theb.* 8.566 *auro phaleras auroque sagittas / cingulaque et manicas*, Tages (VF 6.226 *auro depicta chlamys)*, with traits of figures like Acron (Verg. *A.* 10.722 *purpureum pennis et pactae coniugis ostro)*, Chloreus, *clarus et ostro*, with his *aureus arcus* and *aurea vati cassida* (Verg. *A.* 11.772 ff. *tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis / carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro / pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum)*, Parthenopaeus (Stat. *Theb.* 9.683 ff.) with a *saturatam murice pallam, lucentas auro tunicas.* The poet's opinion on all this is

expressed in 3.118 *chlamys imbelli circumvenit ostro/ torta manum.* When Jason has just landed in Colchis he is wearing *flammea murice tegmina* (5.360 f.) but *tegmina* often stands for 'cuirass' (as in 6.54).

**700 extrema ... cervice** the tiara is bound around the head, so 'the end of the neck' is peculiarly expressed (no close parallel in TLL 4.1044.15 ff.).

**patrium tiaran** the word *tiaras*, τιάρας, is masculine, *tiara* feminine. **C** (*vet.cod.*), understandably, reads here *patriam.*

**701 insignis manicis** *manicae* can denote bracelets as well as sleeves (as in 3.524 *manicae virides* of nymphs) and play a rôle in the sneer in Verg. *A.* 9.616 f. *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae/ o vere Phrygiae! neque enim Phryges*; see also Eunaeus in Stat. *Theb.* 7.657 quoted above. Compare Cicero on Catilina's effeminate supporters *Catil.* 2.22 *quos ... videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis.* The anaphora of *insignis* gives to Myraces the dignity of the sacrosanct magistrate.

**acinace** ἀκινάκης is the short sword of the Persians; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.5 *Medus acinaces*, Curt. 4.15.30 *acinace stricto*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.51.3 .. *postremo ... destringit acinacen vulneratamque ad ... trahit.*

**702 improba** 'immoderate', that is, 'too long', see my note on 5.82. It *could* refer to long shoes (Langen: "Schnabelschuhe"), but I think that Vergil's *tegmina crurum* (699 n. *eoae stamine silvae*), 'trousers', are meant (Mozley translates with 'long trews'), referring to the shame of a Roman not showing his ankles (see 701 n.).

**barbaricae procurrunt tegmina plantae** *plantae* can be dative with *procurrere*, the trousers cover the ankles, as no Roman *man* had, which amply justifies the epithet 'barbarian'. Such datives, 'down to', for *in* + accusative, are Vergilian idiom (see Austin *ad A.* 2.186). A genitive, however, as in *tegmina crurum*, cannot be excluded. Compare Stat. *Theb.* 7.657 *vincula plantae* (quoted above) for 'sandals'. For *tegmina* see also Verg. *A.* 11.777 *barbara tegmina crurum* in 699 n. (of Chloreus).

**703 latuere** for the transitive use see 609 n. For *nec latuere* cf. Verg. *A.* 1.130 *nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae.*

**spolia** appropriation of spoils is epic practice since Homer; cf. Verg. *A.* 11.782 (Camilla) *spoliorum ardebat amore* or 12.947 *spoliis indute meorum.*

**Sirenem** I presume this is the same person as the one mentioned in 74, where I argue for adopting the reading Sirenem **C**; cf. 74 n.

**704 levem et multo maculatam murice tigrin** the skin of a tiger, thin in comparison with full armour, and apparently coloured with purple dye. For the name of an animal used for its hide (whole-for-part synecdoche) cf. VF 8.126 *aptans umeris capitique leonem*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.483 f., 6.835 f., 6.722 *victori tigrin inanem*, 7.661 *aurata lynce*, 7.310 *septemplice tauro* (with Smolenaars), 8.706 *umeris gentilis aper*, 9.685 f. *quem discolor ambit/ tigris*, Claud. *Rapt.* 1.17 f., Sil. 1.25 *secto ... tauro*, Tib. 2.4.28 *niveam ... ovem*. For *multo maculatam murice* (notice the alliteration) compare VF 4.369 *sparso telas maculaverit ostro*. The blood-red colour seems a bad omen in view of Luc. 1.104 f. *Crassus/ Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carrhas*. In the *Thebaid* Parthenopaeus wears a tiger-skin with gilded claws, in addition to the apparel mentioned above (699 n.).

**(perque ... tigrin) cuspis abit** cf. 654 *per clipeum, per pectus abit* with note.

**705 subitos ... cruores** rightly Shelton 404 observes that *subitos* echoes the *subiti Mavortis amor* (694), for which now a capital punishment is inflicted. Compare also *subito* in 715 in the simile.

**706 (cruores) saucia tigris agit** *agit* **C**, *ait* **V+L**, *hiat ed. princ.* Not the tiger, but its master is wounded, a case of enallage.
Most recent editors have printed *agit* (all except Thilo, Schenkl and Ehlers, who printed *hiat*). *cruores agere* can be envisaged as analogous with Catul. 63.31 *animam agens* 'breathing heavily', Luc. 7.482 *Pindus agit fremitus*, of things escaping between the teeth, with overtones of *animam agere* = 'to breath one's last gasp'; cf. Cic. *Fam.* Sh.B.94.2 = VIII.13.2 *Q.Hortensius, cum has litteras scripsi, animam agebat*. Of *hiare* without an object TLL 6.3.2813.57 ff. gives only two instances, Prop. 2.31.6 and Pers. 5.3, both with the sense of 'to utter' (or 'to gape at', G.G. Ramsay), which does not apply to the present situation.

**vitamque effundit erilem** from literal *effundere sanguinem* (Cic. *Mil.* 101 *vos ... qui multum pro re publica sanguinem effudistis*, Verg. *A.* 7.788 *effuso ... sanguine*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.32.2, *Ann.* 6.29.1) to *effundere spiritum, animam, vitam* (Verg. *A.* 1.98 *animam hanc effundere dextra*, Ov. *Ep.* 7.181 *est animus nobis effundere vitam*). — It is as if VF has interchanged *animam* or *vitam agere* and *sanguinem effundere*, in the way he earlier (454) recombined Vergilian (*A.* 4.2) *caeco ... igni* and (*Ecl.* 8.47) *saevus amor* into *caecus amor saevusque ... ignis*.

*

707. ipse puer fracto pronum caput implicat arcu.
708. sanguine tunc atro chlamys ignea, sanguine vultus
709. et gravidae maduere comae, quas flore Sabaeo
710. nutrierat liquidoque parens signaverat auro.

**707 puer** There can be little doubt that the pathetic scene of the dying person and his hair is modelled upon Verg. *A.* 4.147 ff. *ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem / fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro, / tela sonant umeris.* In the *Aeneid* Apollo has a golden tiara in his hair; *implicat arcu* is probably based upon *implicat auro,* while *auro* acquired a place of its own in 710. *puer* may refer to the eunuch (so Mozley), but equally well to Myraces, in view of 693 *iuvenis* (Langen). It is difficult to decide whether we have to emphasize the distinction between 696 *ipse* = Myraces and 707 *ipse* = the eunuch, or rather to think of Myraces as displaying not only oriental wealth but also youthful vigour, which would make him a suitable competitor for Medea's attention. To me it seems better not to assume a break in the story and give the whole passage to Myraces. Accordingly I follow Shelton 404 and give also 707-711 to Myraces. That *parens* stands for 'mother' is, in the light of texts like those in 224 n., more likely than that it should refer to a (rich) father displaying his gold.

**implicat ...arcu** VF loves the verb *implicare,* in view of its frequency of 19 instances; compare this to *Aeneid* (13), *Thebaid* (2), Ov. *Met.* (5). The death of rich Myraces has some traits is common with that of Eunaeus in *Theb.* 7, so Smolenaars may be right in regarding the combination *fracto arcu* as the source of Stat. *Theb.* 7.685 *fractis ... thyrsis.*

**708 sanguine ... atro** cf. *sanguis ater, ater cruor, atri vulneris undam, atro tabo,* in the *Aeneid passim.* Lines 708-710 are modelled upon Hom. *Il.* 17.51 f. (just before the olive tree simile, as is the case here (712-718): αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι/ πλοχμοί θ', οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο (of Euphorbus). Note the similar position in the line of δεύοντο κόμαι compared to *maduere comae.*

**chlamys ignea** among the parallels in Langen *ad* 1.427 VF 2.342 *Tyrio vibrat torus igneus ostro,* and Stat. *Theb.* 4.265 *igneus ostro,* VF 3.340 *ardentes murice vestes,* 5.360 *flammea murice (tegmina)* with Wijsman.

**709 gravidae** cf. VF 5.22 and 79 ( footnote 16) nn. in Wijsman.

**(sanguine vultus) et gravidae maduere comae** here with blood, elsewhere 'heavy' with unguents, *e.g.*, Verg. *A.* 4.216 *crinemque madentem*; for the present sense cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.712 quoted above, VF 3.391 *maduerunt sanguine dextrae*, 4.754 *madent ... sanguine caestus*, 6.415 *caede madens*, Verg. *A.* 12.691 *sanguine terra madet*, 9.333 f., Luc. 1.95 *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri*, 2.125 *maduerunt robora tabo*. The contrast is with the more normal use of *madere*, of hair perfumed with ointments — as was the case with the Micelae (129 *odorato spirantes crine*), or with Aron (5.592) who has *croceos odores* in his hair — or of the face wet with tears. In the *Aeneid* Turnus wishes (with reference to the *semivir* of 12.99 f.; see above, 695 n.) *foedare in pulvere crinis / vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis*. In VF 8.347 ff. the (incriminated) *semivir* will have his hairs *nec murra ... sed flammis et olentes sulphure*. In Ov. *Met.* 3.555 *madidus murra crinis* Pentheus is inveighing against the followers of Bacchus. For the position in the line of *comae* see 708 n.

**flore Sabaeo** the flower of the myrrh-tree (*Commiphora abyssinica*, Burseraceae), the latex of which (a resinous product) can coagulate and be used in dry form. The plant is described by Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9.4.2-9, of which elements have been incorporated (and mixed up, *RE* 16.1134 ff.) in Plin. *Nat.* 12.66 ff. The land of Saba is mentioned in Plin. *Nat.* 12.51 *principalia ergo in illa tus atque murra*, 52 *In medio eius* (=Arabia) *fere sunt Astramitae, pagus Sabaeorum*.

**710 nutrierat** OLD5b classifies the present use under 'to preserve or treat with care' and quotes Col. 12.30.1 *quanto maior aestus erit, eo saepius convenit nutriri refrigerarique et ventilari (sc. dolia)*, Plin. *Nat.* 13.99 (91 *citri et mensarum insania) nutriuntur optime splendescuntque manus siccae fricatu*. See for the scansion 205 n. — Fucecchi makes the perceptive observation that the verb *nutrire* prepares the way for the simile of the young tree.

**liquido ... auro** 'bright' gold; of metals an isolated use (TLL 7.2.1486.74), but compare Plin. *Nat.* 37.129 *nec gemmarum esse ulla liquidior potest*, VF 2.467 *liquidi colores* or Plin. *Nat.* 37.66 *in colore liquido*. For the scene compare Verg. *A.* 4.147 f. *ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem / fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro* (Apollo), 4.138 *crines nodantur in aurum* (Dido) or 11.576 *pro crinali auro* (that Camilla does not wear) or Luc. 3.280 f. *auroque ligatas / substringens, Arimaspe, comas*. In Hom. *Il.* 17.51/52, just before the young olive tree simile, blood is in the hair that was 'wasp-waisted' with silver and gold, which explains the mention of gold here.

**signaverat** 'marked, adorned'; on the head, as in Ov. *Ars* 1.291 *(taurus) signatus tenui media inter cornua nigro.*

*

711. qualem si quis aquis et fertilis ubere terrae
712. educat ac ventis oleam felicibus implet
713. (nec labor assiduus nec spes sua fallit alentem)
714. iamque videt primam tenero de vertice frondem,
715. cum subito immissis praeceps Aquilonia nimbis
716. venit hiems nigraque evulsam tendit harena:
717. haud secus ante urbem Myraces atque ipsius ante
718. virginis ora cadit. sed non magis illa movetur
719. unius aegra metu quam te, Meleagre, furentem,
720. quam Talaum videt aut pugnas miratur Acasti.

**711-717** simile of the storm from the north which ruins the young olive tree; cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.53-60, 53 οἷον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνὴρ ἐριθηλὲς ἐλαίης 54 χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, ὅθ' ἅλις ἀναβέβρυχεν ὕδωρ, 55 καλόν, τηλεθάον — τὸ δὲ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσι 56 παντοίων ἀνέμων, καί τε βρύει ἄνθει λευκῷ— · 57 ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῇ 58 βόθρου τ' ἐξέστρεψε καὶ ἐξετάνυσσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ· 59 τοῖον Πάνθου υἱόν, ἐυμμελίην Εὔφορβον, 60 Ἀτρείδης Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ κτάνε, τεύχε' ἐσύλα. With the exception of line 713 nearly every word used by VF has a counterpart in Homer: *e.g., qualem, siquis, aquis, oleam* in οἷον, ἀνὴρ, ὕδωρ, ἔρνος ἐλαίης. λαίλαπι seems to correspond to *nimbis.*

The optimal conditions for olive culture have, according to Burman, been specified by Palladius *Novemb.*(12) tit. 5, and comprise in fact those mentioned here: *amat haec arbos ... locorum situ mediocriter de humore suspendi, scalpi assidue, laetaminis ubertate pinguescere, feracibus ventis clementer agitari.*

Leaf (*ad* Hom. *Il.* 17.53) quotes Tennyson (*Dream of Fair Women*)
'Single I grew, like some green plant whose root
Creeps to the garden water-pipes beneath,
Feeding the flower.'

as well as Swinburne:
'Thy tender body like a tree
Whereon cool winds have always blown,
Till the clean branches be well grown.'

**711** The words of line 711 owe much to Verg. *G.* 2.185 (about the olive!) *(humus) quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus* and *A.* 1.531 *terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae.*

**fertilis** see former note; there may be a contrast intended between *sterilemque iuventam* (695) referring to the squire and *fertilis terrae* of nourishment for the tree, that is, his master.

**712 educat ... oleam** for *educare*, 'to nurture' cf. Catul. 62.50 *numquam mitem educat uvem* and 62.41 *(ut flos) quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber*, Col. 4.29.17 (TLL 5.2.116.5 ff.), Ter. *Ph.* 943 *(filiam) et eam clam educat.*

**ventis ... implet** the tossing around of the young shoot is explicitly mentioned; can VF have misunderstood these movements, certainly not beneficial to the roots, like the soft rocking of a cradle? Or could he have used a text of the *Iliad* with another word than δονέουσι (πλήθουσι?)? Kleywegt 2467, however, compares Catul. 62.41 *(flos) quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol*, as if a little breeze would do good. Compare 340 n. on the idea that much wind delays the growth of the wood and in that way may make the wood stronger (Sen. *Dial. I (Prov).* 4.16 quoted in 340 n. Fucecchi thinks that *implere vela* may have played a rôle, giving a new function to an everyday expression (cf., *e.g.*, *A.* 3.455); the leaves are like a sail.

**713 nec labor ... nec spes ... fallit** the change in subject gives the phrase the character of a parenthesis. This line has no counterpart in Homer. — *spes fefellit* (TLL 6.1.185.76 f.) in Grat. 243, Suet. *Ner.* 32.1, Plin. *Ep.* 8.2.2.

**labor assiduus** (TLL 2.883.84 ff.) Col. 1.1.18 (in an agricultural context), Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.29, Tib. 1.1.3, Liv. 6.1.6 = 31.46.14.

**714 iamque videt** from **C** *(calamo exaratus)*, for *iam qui det* **V+L.** *(labor et spes) iam qui det ... frondem* is strained if not impossible. *siquis ... educat et ... implet (nec labor et spes fallit alentem) iamque videt* brings about a change in subject. After the parenthetical 713 the farmer's seeing the new buds gives a pathetic air to the sudden change which follows. *videre* has no Homeric counterpart, yet is in line with the concentration on the farmer and his experiences in VF.

**715 subito** in the Homeric subtext ἐξαπίνης.

**immissis ... nimbis** cf. 4.421 *immissis ... Euris.* Garson

(1970:186) cited line 715 (and the first two words of 716) as an example of carefully chosen hissing sounds, a mixture of *s's* and *m's* suggesting both the menacing storm and the lashing wind. Apart from the *-is/-is* sequence I feel that the line does not offer much that is particularly spectacular.

**Aquilonia (hiems)** a storm from the North, as in Claud. 12*(Fesc.II)*.41 *Aquiloniae procellae (... tacete)*; differently in VF 4.462 = 501 *Aquilonia proles* = the sons of Boreas. Compare Stat. *Theb.* 8.426 *Aquilonis hiems.*

**716 nigraque ... tendit harena** cf. Verg. *A.* 5.374 *fulva ... extendit harena*, 9.589 *multa ... extendit harena*, 12.276, VF 4.320 *tenditur ille ingens hominum pavor*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.12 *quantus ... Averno tenditur. nigra harena* is Vergilian: in *G.* 4.291 it refers to black Egyptian clay, 'black soil is the best for crops' (Thomas *ad loc.*); in *G.* 3.241 and *A.* 9.714 the sand of the beach is black (volcanic, as it is around Naples and Baiae). In addition there are literary Greek sources (Mynors and Thomas *ad G.* 3.241 quoted).

**717 ante (virginis ora)** cf. *ante oculos* (723); *ante ora* plus genitive, *ante oculos* and *virginis ora* are frequent in Vergil; cf., *e.g.*, *G.* 4.477 = *A.* 6.308, 1.95, 2.663 *ante ora patris. virginis ora Dianae* is Vergilian (*A.* 4.511), also found in VF at 5.379; cf. *virginis ora* 1.292, 2.463.

**718 ff** understand: *non illa magis movetur quam <moveta est cum> te videt furentem, Meleagre.*

**719 unius aegra metu** Shelton 405 compared 5.375 *in solo stupuit duce* and 6.586 *solusque ocurrit Iason. aegra* returns in 753 and 7.5 as 'lovesick'. *aegra* 'diviene quasi epiteta di Medea' (Fucecchi) citing 7.125, 8.8, 8.163; after all it figured already in Ennius' play Enn. J216=V254 *Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia.*

**Meleagre** Argonaut, mentioned in 1.435, 3.646, 690, 705, 4.33, 5.573, 6.343 (*Calydone satus, Porthaonides, Oenides*). The same vocative occurs in Ov. *Met.* 9.149, or Sen. *Med.* 644; variants of the name are *Meleagros* Met. 8.299, 8.385, 8.515, *Meleager* Plin. *Nat.* 37.41, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.16.

**720 Talaum** Argonaut, mentioned in 1.358, 3.471,478, 5.366.

**Acasti** Argonaut, son of Pelias, mentioned in 1.153, 164, 485, 695, 709.

*

721. at satis hos ipsae gentes campique videbant
722. tempestate pari versis incumbere turmis.
723. ante oculos fuga foeda ducum largusque cadentum
724. est cruor et currus dominis ingentibus orbi.

**721 gentes campique videbant** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.542 *te ... viderunt, Aeole, campi.* The imperfect tense is narrative. *videbant* (the others) answers to *videt* (Medea, 720), just as *ante oculos* (723) to 717 f. *ante ora viginis. ipsae gentes* (cf. 31 *gens quaeque)* must have the sense of 'all other people'.

**722 tempestate pari** (the Argonauts) 'all with the same power', echoing *hiems* (716) in the simile; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.222 f. *quanta per Idaeos saevis effusa Mycenis/ tempestas ierit campos (... audiit), A.* 12.284 *tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber.*

**incumbere turmis** the sense of 'to press on' with dative also in Verg. *G.* 2.310 f. *tempestas a vertice silvis/ incubuit, A.* 1.84 *incubuere mari* (the several winds), VF 2.59 f. *venti ... marique/ incumbunt,* Luc. 3.1 f.; or Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.83 f. *haud ulli vehementior umquam/ incubui* (an *Amor* speaking).

**723 ante oculos** see 717 n.

**fuga foeda** *fera* **V+L**, *torva* **C**, *foeda* ed. 1474 and all recent editors except Kramer (*sera* Sudhaus), *vera* Burman ("*non simulata ut Parthorum").* The combination is common (TLL 6.1.1472.52) in Livy (*e.g.*, 1.12.5) and occurs in Cic. *Phil.* 3.24, 14.32 *in fuga foeda mors est,* Sall. *Iug.* 38.7, 43.1, Luc. 4.713 f. *nudataque foeda/ terga fuga ... cecidit,* Tac. *Hist.* 3.79.2. *fuga torva* **C** probably came from Statius (*Theb.* 7.589).

**largusque cadentum (cruor)** cf. (TLL 4.1245.15 ff.) Ov. *Fast.* 4.636 *et largo sparsa cruore madet,* Sen. *Phaed.* 498 *cruor largus,* Luc. 3.590 *largus cruor,* 9.812 *largus manat cruor. cadentum* with the archaic ending in *-um* instead of *-ium.* Fucecchi comments that *largus cruor* belongs to 'le scene di strage, assimilate a ecatombi'.

**724 est cruor** Kramer (printed by Courtney); *it cruor* ed. 1474 and printed by most editors, *et cruor* **V+L**. Interestingly, a similar instance presents itself in 2.233, *his cruor* **V** (printed by Courtney and Ehlers), *it cruor* Sabellicus, printed by Thilo, Baerens, Langen, Giarratano, Kramer, Mozley, defended by Poortvliet *ad loc.* and also found in Verg. *A.* 9.434; *hic cruor* Liberman. *et cruor et currus* does not make sense. After

*ante oculos* the necessary verb can only be *est* or *sunt*; the corruption *est>et* seems as likely as *it>et*. The sequence *fuga <est>, it cruor, currus <sunt>* would be much more awkward than *ante oculos sunt: fuga, cruor et currus*. Therefore, I feel that *est* (agreeing with the singular *cruor*) is the best solution.

**currus dominis ingentibus orbi** according to Smolenaars XLII the model for Stat. *Theb*. 7.790 *ingemuit currusque orbique iugales*, with the change that in VF the horses are abandoned by their masters, in Statius by Apollo (the charioteer). Fucecchi quotes Hom. *Il*. 11.160 κείν' ὄχεα.

*

725. Non tulit hos Perses gemitus clademque suorum
726. tergaque versa tuens his caelum questibus implet:
727. 'quid me iam patriis eiectum sedibus istas
728. ut struerem pugnas Scythiamque in bella moverem
729. vos superi, vos augurio lusistis inani?

## E. Victory for the Colchian Side

Perses will have the victory over Aeetes as soon as the Minyae have gone; but first Pallas has to save him from self-destruction. Then nine lines describe Medea trying to distinguish her beloved in the growing twilight.

### E.1. *725-751. Perses saved.*

Perses ends Book 6, as he opened it (14-28).

Originally Pallas, on the orders of Juno, had promised him (3.504 f.) that the Argonauts would come to his aid; now in utter distress he is on the brink of saying good-bye to life, but is rescued by Pallas. There is a model in Hom. *Il*. 20.300 ff., 321 ff. (see 743, 745, 748 nn.), where Poseidon rescues Aeneas by lifting him up from the battle-field because Providence has other plans for him).

**725 non tulit hos Perses gemitus** cf. 2.374, 5.35, 5.649, 7.576 as well as several times *non tulit* in the *Aeneid* (*e.g.*, 2.407 *non tulit hanc speciem ... Coroebus*).

**726 tergaque versa** *vertere terga* occurs in martial contexts, *e.g.* Caes. *Gal.* 4.37.4, 7.88.3, Liv. 6.13.3, 22.47.3, Verg. *A.* 8.706 *omnes vertebant terga Sabaei* (the eastern troops, as here). The backs turned are those of the *versae turmae* of 722. Cf. VF 2.657 f. *versa Pelasgum / terga.*

**caelum questibus implet** cf. Verg. *A.* 9.480 *caelum dehinc questibus implet, G.* 4.515 *loca questibus implet*; see 511 n.

**727-736** complaint of Perses, to be compared with the indignant prayer of Iarbas in A. 4.206-218, or to similar scenes in Hom. *Il.* 3.365 (Menelaus to Jupiter), 21.272 ff. (Achilles to Jupiter). A mortal expressing indignation over the (seeming) bias of the supreme being is found in Hom. *Il.* 11. 274 ff. where Agamemnon (ἤχθετο γὰρ κῆρ) says to his comrades that Jupiter is a Trojan partisan, followed by the complaint of his brother in *Il.* 13.631, where Menelaus after a respectful introduction continues by blaming Jupiter for the Trojan bellicosity; and in *Il.* 12.164 ff. where Asios reproaches father Jupiter for bad faith. In Verg. *A.* 10.668 Turnus addresses Jupiter and prefers death to cowardly evading. — It may well be that the rescue of Perses by Pallas is structurally the counterpart of the monologue of Jupiter in which he decides *not* to rescue his son Colaxes, 621 ff. (Vaalburg, unpublished),

**727 patriis eiectum sedibus** poetic ablative; normal is *ex*, as in Cic. *Pis.* 95 *Opimius eiectus est e patria.* Smolenaars 1991:67 thinks line 727 *quid me iam patriis eiectum sedibus istas* has been parodied by Stat. *Theb.* 7.729 (the line number being nearly the same) *exseruit patriis electum missile ripis*, which, if true, sheds an interesting light on the character of Statius.

**728 ut struerem pugnas** derived from *instruere pugnam* (cf. Verg. *A.* 8.676 *instructo Marte*, Lucr. 2.5 f. *belli certamina magna ...instructa).* Related are *struere aciem* in Verg. *A.* 9.42 *neu struere auderent aciem aut credere campo*, Liv. 8.8.3 *structa acies*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.26.3; *struere pugnas* suggests playing at warfare, the construction of a little war in a prearranged battle-order. Perses feels himself a toy in the gods' hands.

In VF 3.617 *cum struerem funera* the poet uses *struere* in the same loose and general sense of 'to devise'; cf. *Inc. trag.* R141 *struunt sorores Atticae dirum nefas.*

**729 vos, superi, vos** an invocation of the type *tu dea, tu* as treated by Wills 83.

**augurio ... inani** the *omina* of 730; cf. Sil. 11.571 *mensque augurio ludatur inani*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.685 *illa deum promisso ludit inani*, Verg. *A.* 1.392 (disguised Venus speaking about her own abilities) *ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes*; a real bird-omen follows.

**lusistis** Heinsius, printed by Thilo, Kramer, Courtney, Ehlers, for *iussistis* **V+L** printed by Schenkl, Baerens, Langen, Bury, Giarratano, Mozley. Burman thought that *iubere ut* was not Latin, but TLL 7.2.580.29 ff. gives a number of examples. I feel, however, that *lusistis* agrees much better with an *augurium inane.* Compare 6.13 *(quos) luserit Aeetes.*

*

730. quid fratris meritas tua, Iuppiter, omina poenas
731. promisere mihi? nobis Argoa parabas
732. scilicet auxilia et tantas coniungere vires.
733. saeva quidem lucis miseris mora, dent tamen oro
734. unum illum mihi fata diem, qui fallat Achivos
735. sic meritos quoque hunc videam virtute superbum
736. Aesoniden tantos flentem sine honore labores!'

**730 tua C** *tum* **V+L**, *tunc* 1474 (?); all recent editors before Courtney and Ehlers printed *tua* (from **T**), only these two print *tum*, although Ehlers mentions *tua*; **T** is a late 15th-century Ms., and *tua* **T** can safely be regarded as a conjecture. Carrio 1565 printed *tua*, and the whole line *quid fratris meritas tua, Iupiter, omina* which was new at the time,[28] but does not tell us that it came from his old manuscript; this he does say in the edition of 1566, where the text is the same and where the commentary states that **C** had it *ut excussum est.* To replace the colourless *tum ... omnia* by *tua ... omina* seems appropriate.

**meritas ... poenas** cf. Cic. *Phil.* 11.29 *dis hominibusque meritas debitasque poenas persolvat*, Ov. *Ep.* 12.119 f. *meritas subeamus in alto/ tu fraudis poenas, credulitatis ego* (Medea writing).

**omina C** (see above) as well as **T**, F-1503, Maserius, Canters in Carrio, for *omnia* **V+L**, *omine* 1474.

**731 Argoa (auxilia)** see 116 n.

[28] the oldest editions print *fratris saevi*, apparently a conjecture for a lacuna in some younger Mss. (one of these, for instance, the codex Burman used).

**nobis parabas (coniungere)** the imperfect indicates that Jupiter was in the process of preparing a coalition between the Argonauts and Perses.

**732 scilicet** irony; in his reproachful mood he can certainly no longer believe this. Similarly, *e.g.*, Dido in Verg. *A.* 4.379 *scilicet is superis labor est.*

**tantas coniungere vires** 'to bring two such big forces together', on the analogy of *coniungere castra, iungere castra*; cf. Verg. *A.* 8.475 f. *sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis / iungere castra paro* as well as (from TLL 3.555.18 ff.) Luc. 4.260, 5.461 *iunctis ... castris*, Liv. 2.53.1 *arma coniunxerant.*

**733 saeva ... lucis ... mora** cf. 5.548 *acribus ast illos curis mora saeva trahebat*; for the thought compare 4.458 *(quod) has mihi fert in luce moras*, Sen. *Her. F.* 1258 f. *cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius / morerque, nil est*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.364 *seras tibi demoror improbus umbras* (Oedipus). The idea is much like that of Verg. *A.* 11.177 f. *quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto / dextera causa tua est.* Fucecchi adds Sen. *Tro.* 938 f., Luc. 2.524 f. *rue certus et omnes / lucis rumpe moras et Caesaris effuge munus.*

**miseris** Homeric, *Il.* 21.463 f. βροτῶν ... δειλῶν, 13.569 ὀϊζυροῖσι βροτοῖσιν, *Od.* 11.19 δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

**dent tamen oro** *oro "post conjunctivum"* (TLL 9.2.1040.2 ff.), following a subjunctive as in 4.173, 7.477, Verg. *A.* 6.76, 11.442, Hor. *S.* 2.4.5, Ov. *Met.* 2.747, 7.482.

**734 unum illum ... diem** cf. Cic. *Pis.* 52 *unus ille dies.*

**qui fallat** *qui* J.A. Wagner, *fallat* **C** for *quo* (**V**+**L**) *fellet*(**V**), *fallet*(**L**). understand: *diem, qui fallat Achivos et quo videam Aesoniden flentem.* With *quo fallat* the finite verb is in need of a subject, which can only be *Aeetes*; although *videam* quickly follows I think some confusion would result because *hunc* Mss. would then seem to refer to Aeetes. **C** had *diem quo fallat Achivos / sic meritos quoque et hunc videam. quoque* could then only go with *meritos*, which makes no sense.

**735 hunc** that *hunc* goes with *superbum Aesoniden* is not at once obvious, and there is something to be said for *hac* Heinsius.

**736 sine honore labores** Langen pointed out that *sine honore* functions attributively, as for instance 5.423 *sine imbribus annum.* Sz. 428

regards the phenomenon as general in Latin of all periods. The words come from Ov. *Met.* 2.387 *sine honore laborum.*[29]

*

737. dixerat haec pectusque suis everberat armis
738. et galeam fletu, galeam singultibus implet.
739. ibat et in medii praeceps incendia belli,
740. ni prior adversis Pallas vidisset ab armis
741. et secum: 'ruit ecce ferox in funera Perses,
742. quem genitor Colchis solioque imponere fratris
743. iam statuit. nostra vereor ne fraude peremptum
744. increpet et culpam hanc magno terrore rependat'.

**737 everberat** cf. Verg. *A.* 12.866 *clipeumque everberat alis*, from the bird that is in reality *sata Nocte*; that phrase is the model for Ovid *Met.* 14.577 *(Ardea) subvolat et cineres plausis everberat alis.*

**suis ... armis** with his armed hands; it is full-scale war and only the back of his hands available for breast-beating.

**738 galeam** Langen comments: *Perses galeam tenet ante oculos, ne ab aliis lacrimae conspiciantur*, 'absurd' according to Smolenaars *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 7.528. See Smolenaars for the motif 'helmet filling with tears'; he adduces *Theb.* 2.635, 7.528, 8.163, 9.41 f., Sil. 12.553 f.

**singultibus implet** for *-ibus implet/* compare 630, 712, 726. Fucecchi considers *singultus* the equivalent of *lacrimae*, and 'filling the helmet' of 'filling the bosom', as in Verg. *A.* 4.30 *sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*, Ov. *Met.* 4.684 *(lumina).*

**739 ibat ... (ni vidisset)** the *irrealis* after an indicative of the imperfect, an elliptic usage, 'and something would have happened if not ...', discussed by K/S 2.402, Sz. 328; other examples in 2.313 ff. (see Poortvliet *ad loc.)*, 4.709 f., 5.495 f. An impressive number of Latin passages and references to the secondary literature can be found in Fucecchi *ad loc.*

**incendia belli** cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.1 *non duo Scipiones oriens incendium belli Punici secundi sanguine suo restinxissent*, Verg. *A.* 1.566 *tanti incendia belli*

---

[29] Compare the title of A. Ferenczi, Sine honore labores—zum Virtusbegriff bei Valerius Flaccus, *Philologus* 139 (1995) 147-156.

with Servius *id est vim; semper enim diluvio et incendio ... comparat bellum*, Sil. 2.358 *primi incendia belli.*

**740 adversis ab armis** cf. 6.589 *adversis ... armis*, 6.256 *adverso ... conto*, 6.270 *adversas ... hastas* with nn. Pallas supports the Argonauts and is accordingly in the camp of Aeetes.

**741 et secum** such a short elliptic clause has probably developed from Ov. *Met.* 10.320 *et secum .... inquit* through Luc. 2.522 *et secum* into silver Latin: VF 1.150 *at secum*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.372. Here in 6.741 we can link *et secum* to 745 *haec dicens*, and in *Theb.* 6.372 *tunc secum* to *dixit* (384); in Silius this is normally no longer possible: 7.154 *haec secum*, 17.132 *sic secum taciti* (*after* the reported speech), 17.221 *haec secum infrendens*, 17.606 *cum secum Poenus.*

**ruit ... in funera** cf. 242 *ultroque ruunt in funera Colchi.*

**ferox ... Perses** Perses 'defiantly runs headlong towards his death'.

**742** for the final outcome of the conflict compare 5.678 ff. (684 *victor domos et sceptra tenebit* (= Perses).

**solioque imponere fratris** cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.17 *nobis dominum cur imponebat?*, Verg. *A.* 6.621 f. *vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potantem/ imposuit*, Ov. *Fast.* 6.360 *hanc* (=Rome) *terris impositurus eras* (to Jupiter), Luc. 3.393 *virum* (=Caesar) *toti ... imponere mundo. Colchis solioque imponere* is slightly zeugmatic or can be regarded as a hendiadys.

**743** understand: *vereor ne (genitor) increpet <eum> peremptum <esse> fraude nostra.* As the basis for the scene, Langen points to Hom. *Il.* 20.301 f., where Poseidon airs his fear of Zeus if he should not protect Aeneas.

**nostra ... fraude** Pallas is afraid that the death of Perses would be ascribed to the pact that she made with Juno (5.285 ff. *quibus addimur armis? ... stat pectore fixum, Aeetae sociare manus)* while earlier she was to promise to Perses *adfore reges/ dis genitos, quis agmina iungat* (3.504 f.). With *fraude peremptum* compare Verg. *A.* 6.163 *morte peremptum*, 9.453 *caede peremptis.*

**744 terrore** of the chief god's violence a few examples in Hom. *Il.* 15.14 ff., 8.199 ff.; the reader knows these, even if the Jupiter of the Latin poets is milder.

*

745. haec dicens atro nebulam diffundit amictu
746. stridentesque viri circum caput amovet hastas.
747. ille super socias clementi turbine gentes
748. erigitur paulumque levi raptatus in aethra
749. iam tandem extremas pugnae defertur in oras,
750. forte ubi serus Hiber Issedoniaeque phalanges
751. Marte carent solisque iuvant clamoribus agmen.

**745 atro nebulam diffundit amictu** cf. Verg. *A.* 1.412 *et multo nebulae circum dea fundit amictu.* Wrapping a person in a cloud is a Homeric motif (*Il.* 3.380 f. (Paris), 5.344 + 20.321 ff. (Aeneas, the very model for Perses here), *Od.* 7.14 f. taken up by ARh 3.210 f., Verg. *A.* 1.412 (Aeneas), Ov. *Met.* 15.804 (Caesar), Hannibal (Sil. 9.484 ff.) and already applied by VF in 5. 400 *aere saeptus. amictu* may be a descriptive ablative indicating synonymy, as in 6.54 *trifidis ardoribus ignes,* or 'ablative of result' (Sz. 127), like Ov. *Met.* 10.494 *duratur cortice pellis.* Strand 48 compares Claud. 18(*Eutr.I*).296 *hunc solvit fluvio.* Schenk 238 f. notes how the goddess moves into the background after the two active forms *diffundit* and *amovet,* as from 748 onwards *erigitur, raptatus, defertur* do no longer mention the agent.

**746 stridentesque ... circum caput amovet hastas** as Juno did in 651; see n. Compare Verg. *A.* 10.645 *stridentem ... hastam.*

**747 clementi turbine** Catul. 64.272 *clementi flamine,* Stat. *Theb.* 5.468 f. *clementior Auster/ vela vocat,* 7.80 *clementior aura Lycaei* (with Claud. 1(*cos. Olyb. Prob*). 272), 7(*III cos. Hon.*).165, Palladius l.c. (711-717 n.).

**748 erigitur** a god giving his *protégé* an air-lift also in the Homeric models of Paris and Aeneas (Hom. *Il.* 20.325 ff. ὑψόσ' ἀείρας, πολλὰς δὲ στίχας ἡρώων .... ὑπερᾶλτο) mentioned above, as well as also Hannibal in Sil. 9.484 f. *cava .. nube/ sublatum.* Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.13 f. *sed me per hostis Mercurius celer/ denso paventem sustulit aere* reads like a more humorous version. In *Il.* 20.321 ff. Aeneas is saved by Poseidon (the model scene for the present rescue of Perses) and carried to the furthest part of the battle-field (cf. line 749), where the Caucones were preparing themselves for the battle, 328 f. ἷξε δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιὴν πολυάικος πολέμοιο· / ἔνθα δὲ Καύκωνες πόλεμον μέτα θωρήσσοντο. *erigitur* opens the hexameter thrice

in the *Aeneid*, thrice in the *Metamorphoses*, five times in Lucan, seven times in the *Thebaid*, five times in Silius.

**levi ... in aethra** the word *aethra* (αἴθρα), related to *aether* (Servius *ad Aen.* 3.585: *sane aether est ipsum elementum, aethra vero splendor aetheris. de aethere aethra factum est)*, is often used for the higher air, which seems a hyperbole here; cf. (from epic) Enn. *Ann.* S416 = V435, Lucr. 6.467 *surgere in aethram*, Verg. *A.* 3.585 f. *aethra/ siderea*, 12.247 *Iovis ales in aethra*, VF 1.156 f. *Iovis armiger aethra/ advenit*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.583 *e summa ... aethra*, Sil. 11.468 *volucris ... pependit in aethra. levis aether* is used since Lucr. 5.467 (Fucecchi).

**749 iam tandem** as in 4.483, Verg. *A.* 6.61, 12.497 (opening the line) and 10.890, 12.800.

**extremas pugnae ... in oras** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.814 *extremas ... in oras*. Smolenaars XLII shows how the present passage about Pallas removing Perses from danger is the subtext of *Thebaid* 7.723 ff., the catabasis of Amphiaraus. Compare further Verg. *A.* 9.528 *et mecum ingentis oras evolvite belli*, modelled upon Enn. *Ann.* S164=V174 *quis potis ingentis oras evolvere belli*, both following Homer (see 748 n.).

**750 serus Hiber** *serus* in the sense of 'too late'. The battle is in full swing, and like the Homeric Caucones of *Il.20* the (H)iberic forces are going to miss it.

**Issedoniaeque phalanges** (Thilo), *hiberis sidoniaeque* **V+L**, *hiber Essedoniaeque* **C**; cf. Herodot. 4.13 ἐς Ἰσσηδόνας; Luc. 3.280 *hinc Essedoniae gentes*, a people with peculiar habits described in Herodot. 4.26, also in Mela 2.9, involving the consumption of their parents (mixed with mutton) and the use of the gilded skull as a goblet: *Essedones funera parentium laeti et victimis ac festo coeta familiarum celebrant. corpora ipsa laniata et caesis pecorum visceribus immixta epulando consumunt. capita ... auro vincta pro poculis gerunt.* With regard to the spelling *Essed-* or *Issed-* I feel that Burman was right when he commented *videat lector utram lectionem preferat*, but it is true that *Essed-* may be regarded as the *lectio difficilior.* It was apparently used in Luc. 3.280, while RE 9.2235.4 ff. speaks of *Issedoi (=Issedonus, Essedonus)*. Lines ending with φάλαγγας are found in the *Iliad* in 16.563, 17.285, 19.152, 158 (-γες).

**751 Marte carent** ed. 1474, *calent* **V+C+L**; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.13 *frustra cruento Marte carebimus* and (Fucecchi) Sen. *Phoen.* 523 *bello carerem*, Luc. 6.579 *tellus ... caede careret.*

**solisque iuvant clamoribus agmen** Burman refers to Luc.

7.366 ff. *paucas victoria dextras/ exigit; at plures tantum clamore catervae/ bella gerent*, Schenkl 371 n. to Luc. 1.293 *quantum clamore iuvatur/ Eleus sonipes.*

*

752. nox simul astriferas profert optabilis umbras
753. et cadit extemplo belli fragor aegraque muris
754. degreditur longum virgo perpessa timorem.
755. ut fera Nyctelii paulum per sacra resistunt,
756. mox rapuere deum iamiam in quodcumque paratae
757. Thyiades, haud alio remeat Medea tumultu
758. atque inter Graiumque acies patriasque phalangas
759. semper inexpletis agnoscit Iasona curis
760. armaque quique cava superest de casside vultus.

E.2. *752-760. Night closes the book.*

The night comes in the same way as it did at the end of Book 5 (5.691-695). Medea tries to distinguish her beloved in the twilight.

**752 nox ... optabilis** cf. 5.279 *optata silentia. optabilis* is in general a word of Stoic contexts, frequent for instance in Seneca's letters; the present combination, however, is modelled upon Hom. *Il.* 8.488 ἀσπασίη ... νύξ. This is the same night described as *nox ... soli veniens non mitis amanti* in VF 7.5.

**astriferas ... umbras** cf. Luc. 9.5 *astriferis ... axibus*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.400 *astriferum ... orbem*, Mart. 8.28.8, 9.20.6.

The combination is found in Sedulius, *Carm. Paschale* 3.220 (already noticed by Courtney)[30]. This could be sheer coincidence, were it not for some additional apparent borrowings from VF (from Manitius 253):

| | *VF* | | *Sedulius* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4.648 f. | hortatur supplexque manus intendit Iason/ nomine quemque premens | 3.297 f. | procedit supplexque manus et brachia tendit/ imploratque gemens |
| 2.288 | per opaca silentia noctis | 4.219 | per opaca silentia noctis |
| (7.389 | per opaca silentia Colchis) | | |
| 3.338 | crebris quatiens singultibus ora | 3.108 | singultu quatiente valens |
| 6.517 | curruque coruscus | 1.181 | curruque corusco |

---

[30] *Cl. Rev.* 15 (1965) 151

The interest resides in the implication that around AD 450 (fl. Sedulius) VF should still have been current in Rome. — To what extend there is direct influence upon Statius *Theb.* 8.83 is difficult to say; *torquet et astriferos inclinat Iuppiter axes* has only the word *astrifer* in common, while such adjectives ending in *-fer* abound in Statius.

**753 cadit ... belli fragor** for *belli fragor* cf. Luc. 5.228, Sen. *Ep.* 95.69, Stat. *Theb.* 7.797 (TLL 6.1.1235.3 ff.); for Statius' imitation of the present passage see 749 n. For *cadit fragor* cf. Verg. *A.* 1.154 *sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor*, *Ecl.* 9.58 *ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae*, Sen. *Ag.* 576 *cecidit in lucem furor* (after the storm).

**aegra** 'love-sick'; Medea is still *aegra* in 7.5, emphasizing the continuity of the story (see 719 n.).

**754 degreditur** conjectured by Vossius, who again (see 668 n.) saw confusion between *de-* and *di-*, and printed by Baehrens, Bury, Mozley, against the other 7 recent editors, who have preferred *digreditur* **V+L**. For *degreditur* cf. Liv. 4.33.12 (*de montibus)*, Gell. 1.3.15, Manil. 3.329; for the more frequent as well as more poetic *digreditur* cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.117 *digredimur flentes* (Leander to Hero), *Met.* 9.42, Verg. *A.* 2.718, Stat. *Theb.* 5.611. To my mind Medea does not go away from the wall, but *down* from the wall, so *degreditur* adds point.

**longum virgo perpessa timorem** For *longumque timorem* cf. 1.325. Medea is now sharing a fundamental feeling with the Argonauts and with Jason in particular, witness Ov. *Met.* 7.5 *multaque perpessi claro sub Iasone. virgo* has the *-o* long, unlike 491 and the other cases from Book 6 mentioned in 491 n.; see Kösters 87).

**755 ut (... Thyiades)** simile based upon many a description of Maenads. The frenzy continues to grip Medea, her night's rest is only a pause. Several references to Maenads running with streaming hair are listed in Gärtner 332, to which could be added Hom. *Il.* 22.460 ff. (μαινάδι ἴση), Ov. *Fast.* 6.514, Sen. *Oed.* 442. VF uses the word *Thyia* in 3.265, 8.447; it may be derived from ARh 1.636 (on Lemnos). Relevant references may be Hom. *Il.* 22.460 ff., because Andromache rushes to the *top of the wall* to see Achilles and the remains of Hector, Ov. *Met.* 7.257 f. *passis Medea capillis / bacchantum ritu flagrantes circuit aras*, Sen. *Med.* 382 ff. where the nurse describes Medea in terms of bacchic ritual (*incerta qualis entheos gressus tulit / cum iam recepto maenas insanit deo ... talis recursat huc ... et huc motu effero*) and

Verg. *A.* 7.373-405, for which see 669 n. Fucecchi quotes Ov. *Medea* fr.2 *feror huc illuc ut plena deo.*

**Nyctelii** the followers of *Nyctelius* = Bacchus; cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.567 *Nycteliumque patrem*, *Met.* 4.15 with Bömer, *Culex* 111 *Nyctelium fugens Cadmeis Agave.*

**resistunt** 'resist' (OLD6), *sc. deo.* First they resist, then the frenzy sweeps them along, *per sacra, i.e.*, during their (secret) rites, mysteries (OLD3c); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.26 f. *qui Cereris sacrum/ volgarit arcanae* as in Prop. 3.4.14 *(videam) ad vulgi plausus saepe resistere equos*, Suet. *Otho* 6.3. *laxato calceo restitit.* Cf. Sen. *Med.* 380 f. *alumna ... resiste.*

**756 deum** the statue of the god according to Burman, J.A.Wagner, Langen; Fucecchi refers to, *e.g.*, Dido in Verg. *A.* 4.301 f. *bacchatur qualis commotis excita sacris/ Thyias.*
However, Damsté 393 and Fucecchi 267 prefer to think that the Thyiads 'appropriate the spirit of the god Bacchus' (that is, they are ἔνθεος), for which Damsté compares 7.303 *cum tenet ille deum* ('when the god Bacchus has made himself master of him'), or Sen. *Oed.* 298 *pectore exciperem deum* (=Phoebum). Bessone 166 strongly supports the metaphorical interpretation and thinks the poet deliberately changes the more usual *rapi* (examples in Fucecchi) for active *rapere*, as it had been used, *e.g.*, in Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.1 f. *quo me, Bacche, rapis tui/ plenum?*

**in quodcumque paratae** (*in* added in ed. 1523), *quocumque* **C**; cf. Verg. *A.* 2.799, 2.61 *in utrumque paratus/*, Ov. *Met.* 6.613 *in omne nefas ego me, germana, paravi*, VF 1.174 f. *sat multa parato/ in quaecumque vocas.*

**757 Thyiades** (dactylic) the bacchante, or maenad, is a common motif in poetry; cf. Catul. 64.391 with Fordyce on the name Θυιάδες (from θύειν, Austin *ad* 4.300), Verg. *A.* 4.302 with Pease, Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.10, Ov. *Fast.* 6.514, VF 3.265, 8.447, Sen. *Oed.* 442, Stat. *Theb.* 12.792, Pease *ad* Verg. *A.* 4.300.

**remeat** Fucecchi observes that the word occurs already in Vergil, but becomes more frequent in the course of the first century AD.

**tumultu** ending the line on two more occasions in VF (1.736, 2.312), but 22 times in Stat. *Theb.* and 13 times in the *Aeneid.*

**758 patriasque phalangas** see 106 *Drangea phalanx*, 613 ...., 750 *Issedoniaeque phalanges*; in Hom. *Il.* several lines end in φάλαγγας (16.563, 17.285, 19.152), or φάλαγγες (19.158).

**759 inexpletis ... curis** *inexpletus*, 'insatiable', is an unusual word (TLL *s.v.)*, found, *e.g.*, in Verg. *A.* 8.559, Ov.*Met.* 3.439, Stat. *Theb.* 2.518, 7.703 *inexpleto amore* (see Smolenaars *ad loc.)*, 8.481, 8.666, *Silv.* 3.3.8.

**agnoscit** compare *agnoscit* 578 where Medea recognizes several kings; then the topic shifts, and Jason attracts her full attention. It is with feigned ignorance that in 588 she asks *quis ... hic?* By now she recognizes Jason till the last moment of light.

**760 superest de casside vultus** 'his face, that strains forward from the helmet' (Mozley). For the peculiar combination with *de* Fucecchi quotes Hor. *S.* 2.6.104, Ov. *Met.* 4.584, *Tr.* 1.5.33. In ARh 3.453 f. after having seen Jason in her father's hall, his image remains with Medea: προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα,/ αὐτός θ' οἷος ἔην. *quique ... vultus* may allow the interpretation 'the part of his face that' (small as it is). Statius seems to have thought of completely closed helmets, hampering recognition, witness *Theb.* 7.491 f. *quanam inveniam, mihi dicite, natum / sub galea* (with Smolenaars).

# APPENDIX

## *Statius and Valerius Flaccus*

| Statius | | Valerius Flaccus 6. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7.83 | Mars impellit equos | 6 | (Mars)impulit hinc currus |
| 7.628 ff. | (invocation of the Muses) | 33 ff. | (see n.) |
| 7.712, 10.544 | falcato curru | 105 | falcatos currus |
| 1.27 | frenator | 162 | frenator |
| 4.560 | alternum cruorem | 185 | alternus cruor |
| 6.616 | correpto crine | 189 | correpto crine |
| 7.675 | congressu Capaneus iniquo | 322 | congressu Gesander iniquo |
| 9.554 | ruit haud alio quam turris | 383 | ruit ut machina muri |
| 7.744 | montis latus | 383 | montis latus |
| 6.491 ff. | showing a phantom | 386 ff. | showing the aegis |
| 4.96 | ad spiramina soli | 465 | adspiramina formae |
| 7.223 | rosaria scourched by the wind | 492 | lilia idem |
| 7.225 | honos | 494 | honor |
| 7.285 | patriis concentibus | 513 | patrium paeana |
| 7.367 | hoc satis | 549 | satis hoc visu |
| 3.63 | vaga lumina | 584 | vaga lumina |
| 8.402 | vertice coni | 604 | vertice coni |
| 7.46 | contristat sidera | 622 | contristat sidera |
| 10.911 | turba deum | 626 f. | divum turba |
| 7.738 | ille ruit | 652 | praeceps ille ruit |
| 9.302 | mortem acerbat | 655 | acerbat vulnera |
| 7.625 ff. | ventus lenis | 665 f. | lenibus flabris |
| 9.94 | miserae carinae | 666 | miserae carinae |
| 7.657 | bracchia in manicis | 702 | insignis manicis |
| 7.685 | fractis thyrsis | 707 | fracto arcu |
| 7.790 | currus orbi | 724 | currus dominis orbi |
| 7.729 | patriis electum ripis | 727 | patriis eictum sedibus |
| 7.814 | extremas in oras | 749 | extremas in oras |

*Silius and Valerius Flaccus*

| | Silius | | Valerius Flaccus 6. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.407 | caelatus parmam urna | 53 | caelata tegmina ignes |
| 10.174 | caelatus Gorgone parmam | | |
| 3.225 | glomerarit turmas | 86 | glomerant turmas |
| 3.298 | hos agit | 88 | hos agit aequore |
| 3.338 | Cydnus agit | | |
| 3.354 | hos Viriathus agit | | |
| 4.315 | versis habenis | 95 | habenas |
| 8.571 | hos venatus alit | 146 | Exomatas venatus alit |
| 9.367 ff. | dum ... timet ... | 201 | dum ... respicit ... |
| 9.447 | proturbans | 230 | proturbans |
| 7.674 ff. | | 261 ff. | |
| 4.125 | compesce minas | 306 | compesce minas |
| 4.326 f. | orbem extulit | 345 | extulit orben |
| 2.290 | pelagi rabiem | 355 | pelagi rabies |
| 9.464 | aegide commota | 394 | aegida |
| 4.137 | fusus habenas | 391 | fundat habenas |
| 13.172 | fusis habenas | | |
| 12.617 | fuscis Africus alis | 494 | fuscis Notus alis |
| 5.547 | poplite caeso/ | 551 | poplite caeso/ |
| 7.123 | cassarum irarum | 556 | cassa ira |
| 13.433 | corpora lecta | 559 | lecta corpora |
| 3.284 | intortes crines | 563 | intortos crines |
| 10.244 f. | unda sanguinis | 573 | sanguinis undam |
| 17.451 | infesta cuspide | 617 | infesta cuspide |
| 13.402 | pectoris aegri | 623 | aegra pectora |
| 15.135 f. | aegra pectora | | |
| 14.316 | miseris carinis | 666 | miserae carinae |
| 12.309 | derepta monilia collo | 668 | derepta monilia |
| 3.161 | vis dura | 683 | vis dura |

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## 1. *Abbreviations*

| | |
|---|---|
| VF | Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* |
| ARh | Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* |
| K/H | R. Kühner, F.Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, Elementar-, Formen- und Wort-Lehre.* Hannover, 1912, |
| OLD | *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1982. |
| Sz | A. Szantyr, (J.B. Hofmann), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik,* München, 1965. |
| RE | *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart/München, 1894-1978. |
| TLL | *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900-. |
| K/S | R. Kühner, C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, Satzlehre*, München, 1962, I,II. |

## 2. *Editions Inspected*


Hectoreus (Bologna) 1498 (ed. tertia)
A. Maserius (Paris) 1519
J.B. Pius (Bologna) 1519
L. Carrio 1565 ; 1566
L. Alardus (Leipzig) 1630 (together with J.Weitz, Collectanea and Chr. Bulaeus, Schediasmata);
P. Burman, 1724
N.E. Lemaire, 1824 , with a commentary by J.A. Wagner and additional notes by J.J.A. Caussin de Percevalles and editorial comments by N.E. Lemaire.

| | |
|---|---|
| G. Thilo | 1863 |
| K. Schenkl | 1871 |
| E. Baehrens | 1875 |
| P. Langen | 1896 |
| J.B. Bury | 1900 |
| C. Giarratano | 1904 |
| O. Kramer | 1913 |
| J.H. Mozley | 1936 |
| E. Courtney | 1970 |
| W.-W. Ehlers | 1980 |


## 3. *Literature Cited (most standard commentaries have not been included)*


Adamietz, J., Zur Komposition der Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus, *Zetemata* 67 (1976) 1-128.

Antolín, F.N., Lygdamus, Corpus Tibullianum III.1-6 Lygdami elegiarum liber. Leiden, 1996.

Auhagen, U., *Heu quid agat?*—Erlebte rede bei Valerius Flaccus und seinen Vorgängern, 51-65 *in* Eigler, U., & E. Lefèvre, München 1998.

Axelson, B., *Unpoetische Wörter*, Lund, 1945.

Bailey , D.R. Shackleton, On Valerius Flaccus, *H.S.C.P.* 81 (1977) 199-215.
Barich, M.J., *Aspects of the poetic technique of Valerius Flaccus* (diss.), Yale University, 1982.
Bessone, F., Valerius Flaccus und die Medeen des Ovids, 141-171 *in* Eigler, U., & E. Lefèvre, München 1998.
Beye, C.R., Homeric battle narrative and catalogues. *H.S.C.P.* 68 (1984) 345-373.
Bömer, F., *Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen, Kommentar*, Heidelberg, 1969-1986.
Bulaeus, Chr., *Schediasmata, in* ed. J.Alardus, 1630.
Burck, E., *Vom römischen Manierismus*, Darmstadt, 1971.
Burck, E., Die Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus, pp. 209-253 in *Das römische Epos*, ed. E.Burck, Darmstadt, 1979.
Bury, J.B., Critical notes on Valerius Flaccus, *Hermathena* 8 (1893) 392-419.
Bussenius, O. *De Valerii Flacci in adhibendis comparationibus usu*, diss. Lübeck, 1872.

Caussin, see J.A.Wagner.
Ceccarelli, L., *L'allitterazione a vocale interposta variabile in Virgilio*, Roma, 1986.
Colton, R.E., The influence of Propertius on Valerius Flaccus, *Class. Bull.* 40 (1964) 35-42.
Conte, G.B., *Latin literature, a history*, Baltimore, 1994.
Contino, S., *Lingua e stile in Valerio Flacco*, Bologna, 1973.
Coulson, F.T., New evidence for the circulation of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus? *Cl. Phil.* 81 (1986) 58-60.
Courtney, E., On Valerius Flaccus, *Cl. Rev.* 11 (1961) 106-107.
Courtney, E., More on Valerius Flaccus, *Cl. Rev.* 12 (1962) 115-118.
Courtney, E., Valeriana tertia, *Cl. Rev.* 15 (1965) 111-115.

Damsté, P.H., Ad C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica, *Mnemosyne* 49 (1921) 261-268.
Delage, E., *La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes*, diss., Paris, 1930.
Delz, J., Nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta, *Mus. Helv.* 32 (1975) 157-166.
Delz, J., Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, rec. Courtney, *Mus. Afric.* 5 (1976) 96-100.
Delz, J., Beitrage zur Textkritik, *in* Ratis omnia vincet, ed. M.Korn, H.J. Tschiedel, *Spudasmata* 48 (1991) 227-237.
Dräger, P., Zeus/Juppiter und Apollo(n): Die Parallelität in der Handlungsstruktur bei Homer, Vergil, Apollonios und Valerius, 193-211 *in* Eigler, U., & E. Lefèvre, München 1998.
Duckworth, G.E., Five centuries of Latin hexameter poetry: silver and late epic. *T.A.P.A.* 98(1967) 27-150.

Ehlers, W.-W., *Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Argonautica des C. Valerius Flaccus*, München, 1970
Ehlers, W.-W., Valerius Flaccus 1940 bis 1971, *Lustrum* 16 (1971) 105 - 142.
Ehlers, W.-W., Valerius-Probleme, *M.H.* 42 (1985) 334-340.
Ehlers, W.-W., *in* Ratis omnia vincet, ed. M.Korn, H.J. Tschiedel, *Spudasmata* 48 (1991) 227-237.
Eigler, U., *Monologische Redeformen bei Valerius Flaccus*, Frankfurt, 1988 (= Beiträge zur klassische Philologie 187).
Eigler, U. & E. Lefèvre, *Ratis omnia vincet*, Neue untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus, *Zetemata* 98, München, 1998.
Ellis, R., On some passages of Valerius Flaccus, *J.Phil.* 9 (1880) 52-61.

Feeney, D.C. *The gods in epic: poets and critics in the classical tradition.* Oxford, 1991.
Fenik, B. *Typical battle-scenes in the Iliad: studies in the narrative technique of Homeric battle description.* Wiesbaden, 1968.

Fordyce, C.J., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII.* Oxford, 1977.
Frank, E., Structure of Valerius' Argonautica. *Cl.B.* 43 : 38-39, 1967.
Frieseman, H. *Collectanea critica.* Amsterdam, 1786.
Fuà,O., La presenza di Omero in Valerio Flacco, *Atti della Acad.delle Sc. di Torino 122* (1988) 23-53.
Fucecchi, M., La τειχοσκοπία e l'innamoramento de Medea, Saggio di commento a Valerio Flacco Argonautiche 6,427-760, Pisa 1997.

Garson, R.W., Homeric echoes in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica, Class. Quart* 19 (1969) 362-366.
Garson, R.W., Valerius Flaccus the poet, *Cl.Q.*, 20:181-187, 1970.
Gärtner, U., *Gehalt und Funktion der Gleichnis bei Valerius Flaccus*, Stuttgart 1994.
Gärtner, U., *Quae magis aspera curis nox; zur Bedeutung der tageszeiten bei Valerius Flaccus.* Hermes 126 (1998) 202-220.
Gärtner, U., Zur Rolle von Personifikation und Allegorie bei Valerius Flaccus, 67-85 = Gärtner 1998b; *in* Eigler, U., & E. Lefèvre, München 1998.
Gebbing, H., *De Valerii Flacci tropis et figuris.* Marburg, 1878.
Gronovius, J.F., *Observationes* IV$^2$, cap.XXI, Lugd. Batav., 1662
Grüneberg, A., *De Valerio Flacco imitatore*, diss. Berlin, 1893.

Håkanson, L., Adverbs in Latin poetry, *Eranos* 84 (1986) 23-56.
Halter, Th., *Form und Gehalt in Vergils Aeneis*, München 1963.
Hardie, Ph., *The epic successors of Vergil*, Cambridge, 1993.
Hardie, Ph., *Aeneid, book IX*, Cambridge, 1994.
Harmand, R., De Valerio Flacco Apollonii Rhodii imitatore, diss. Nancy, 1898
Harrison, S.J., *Vergil, Aeneid 10*, Oxford, 1991.
Heeren, A., *De chorographia a Valerio Flacco adhibita*, diss. Göttingen 1899.
Heinsius, N., *in* Burman, ed. 1724.
Helm, R. Valerius Flaccus. Lustrum 1 (1956) 236-255
Hillen, M., *Studien zur Dichtersprache des Senecas*, Berlin, 1989.
Hinds, St., *Allusion and intertext (dynamics of appropriation in Roman poetry)*, Cambridge, 1998.
Housman, A.E. Greek nouns in Latin poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal. *J.Ph.* 31 (1910) 236-266 = *The classical papers of A.E. Housman*, vol II (1972) 817-893.
Hudson-Williams, A., Imitative echoes and textual criticism, *Cl. Q.* 9 (1959) 61-72.
Hunter, R.L., *Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonautica book III*, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1989.

Kleywegt, A.J., Die Dichtersprache des Valerius Flaccus. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 32.4, 2448-2490 de Gruyter, Berlin, 1986 b.
Koch, H.A., Coniectanea II, *Rh. Mus.* 18 (1863) 17-23 .
Korn, M., Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica 4, 1-343, ein Kommentar (=*Spudasmata* 46). Hildesheim, 1989.
Korn, M. & W.A.Slaby, *Concordantia in Valerii F;acci Argonautica*, 1988, Hildesheim.
Kösters, H., *Quaestiones metricae & prosodiacae ad Valerium Flaccum pertinentes*, diss. Münster, 1893.
Köstlin, H., C.Valerius Flaccus, *Philologus* 38 (1879) 47-58.
Köstlin,H. Zu Valerius Flaccus, *Philologus* 39 (1880) 33-68, 419-458
Köstlin, H., Zur Erklärung und Kritik des Valerius Flaccus, *Philologus* 48 (1889) 646-673.
Köstlin, H., Zur Erklärung und Kritik des Valerius Flaccus, III, *Philologus* 50 (1891) 731-742.
Krenkel, R., *De codicis valeriani Carrionis auctoritate*, diss. Leipzig, 1909

Langen, P., *C. Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon libri octo.* Berlin, 1896 (Nachdruck Hildesheim, 1964).
Langen 1894, P., *Quaestiones ad Valerium Flaccum spectantes,* I, 1-10, 1894, Münster.
Laserre, F., *Strabon, Géographie tome IX, livre XII,* Belles Lettres, Paris, 1981.
Lemaire, N.E., see J.A. Wagner.
Leo, F., rec. ed. P.Langen 1896, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 : 953-976 = Kl.Schr. 2 (1960) 223 ff.
Leumann, M., *Kleine Schrifte,* Zürich, 1959.
Levin, D.N., *Apollonius' Argonautica re-examined. The neglected first and second books,* Leiden, 1971.
Liberman, G., Valerius Flaccus, Argonautiques, chants 1-IV, Paris, 1997
Löhbach, R., *Observationes criticae in C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica,* Programm Andernach, Neuwied, 1869.
Löhbach, R., *Studien zu Valerius Flaccus,* Programm Andernach, Neuwied, 1872.
Löhbach, R., *Bemerkungen zu Valerius Flaccus,* Programm Mainz, 1876
Lüthje, E., *Gehalt und Aufriss der Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus,* diss., Kiel, 1971.

MacKay, L.A., The vocabulary of fear in Latin epic poetry, *T.A.P.A.* 92 (1961) 308-316.
Manitius, M., Vorbilder und nachahmer des Valerius Flaccus, *Philologus,* 48 (1889) 248-254 .
Mehmel, F., *Valerius Flaccus,* diss. Hamburg, 1934
Meiggs, R., *Trees and timber in the ancient world,* Oxford, 1982.
Meyncke, G., *Quaestiones Valerianae,* diss. Bonn, 1865.
Meyncke, G., Beiträge zur Kritik des Valerius Flaccus, *Rh. Mus.* 22 (1867) 362-376.
Morel, W., Zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus, *Rh. Mus.* 87 (1938) 60-74.
Mynors, R.A.B., *Virgil, Georgics,* Oxford, 1990.

Nicolay, E., Un aspect de la ponctuation bucolique dans Valérius Flaccus, Argonautica, V,217-VIII,467, *Latomus* 31 (1972) 854-859.
Nisbet, R.G.M. *Collected papers on Latin literature,* ed. S.J.Harrison, Oxford, 1995.
Norden, E., *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI.* Leipzig, $1916^2$.

Parroni, P. ed., *Pomponii Melae De Chorographia libri III.* Rome, 1984
Peerlkamp, P. Hofman, *Commentarii in Vergilium,* ed. Vergilius, 1843.
Perkins, J.B., An aspect of the style of Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica, *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 290-313.
Pinkster, H., *Latin syntax and semantics,* Routledge, London, 1990
Poortvliet, H.M., *C. Valerius Flaccus Argonautica book II. A commentary,* diss., VU Univ.Press, Amsterdam, 1991 = Poortvliet.
Poortvliet, H.M., Valerius Flaccus and the last file, *in* Ratis omnia vincet, ed. M.Korn, H.J. Tschiedel, *Spudasmata* 48 (1991) 35-43= Poortvliet 1991.
Postgate, J.P., *Select elegies of Propertius,* MacMillan, London, 1895.

Raabe, H., *Plurima mortis imago,* München, 1974.
Rawson, B., *Marriage, divorce, and children in ancient Rome,* Oxford, 1991.
Renkema, E.H., *Observationes criticae et exegeticae ad C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica,* diss., Utrecht, 1906.
Reuss, Fr., Zu Valerius Flaccus Argon. V-VIII, *Philologus* 59 (1900) 406-415.
Roscher, W.H., *Ausführlisches lexikon der griechischen und römischen mythologie,* Leipzig 1884-1937.

Samuelsson, J., *Studia in Valerium Flaccum*, diss., Uppsala 1899.
Samuelsson, J., Studia in Valerium Flaccum, Eranos 6 (1905/1906) 72-100.
Samuelsson, J., Ad Valerium Flaccum, *in* Festskrift 1927, *Skrifter K. Hum. Vet. Samf. Upps.*, 24 (1927) 1-12.
Samuelsson, J., Ad Valerium Flaccum, Eranos 28 (1930) 168-175.
Sandström, C.E., *Emendationes in Propertium, Lucanum, Valerium Flaccum*, diss. Uppsala, 1878.
Schenk, P., Pallas—ein Beitrag zum Götterbild des Valerius Flaccus, *in* Eigler, U., & E. Lefèvre, München 1998.
Schenkl, K., Studien zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus. *Sitzungsberichte Ak. Wien. Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 68 (1871) 272-382.
Schenkl, K., Grammaticorum batavorum in C.Valerii Flacci Argonautica coniecturae ineditae, *Wiener Studien* 5 (1883) 139-143.
Schlicher, J.J.,, The historical infinitive. III. Imitation and decline, *Class. Philol.* 10 (1915) 54-74.
Schmitz, M., *De Valeri Flacci dicendi genere quaestiones*, diss. Münster, 1872 .
Schrader, J. *Observationum liber.* Franeker, 1761
Shelton, J.E., *A narrative commentary on the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus*, diss., Nashville, 1971
Shey, H.J., *A critical study of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus*, diss. Iowa Univ., 1968.
Shreeves, E., *Landscape, topography & geographical notation in the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus*, diss. Chapel Hill, 1978.
Slothouwer, V. Animadversiones criticae in veteres auctores classicos, *Acta lit. Soc. Rheno-Traj.* 3 (1801) 111-193.
Smith, R.A., An instance of "meta-allusion"; *Gymnasium* 97 (1990) 458-460
Smolenaars, J.J.L., *Statius Thebaid VII, a commentary*, Leiden, 1994, XLII + 462 pp. = Smolenaars.
Smolenaars, J.J.L., 1991, Quellen und Rezeption. Die Verarbeitung homerischer Motive bei Valerius Flaccus und Statius, in *Ratis omnia vincet*, 57-71.
Smolenaars, J.J.L., 'On went the steed, on went the rider, An intertextual analysis of Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 6.256-264, Statius *Thebais* 7.632-639 and Silius *Punica* 7.667-679', in R.Risselada, J.de Jong, A.M.Bolkestein, *On Latin: linguistic and literary studies in honour of Harm Pinkster*, Amsterdam, Gieben, 1996, 151-161.
Spaltenstein, F., Commentaire des *Punica* de Silius Italicus, I, livres 1-8, II, livres 9-17, Genève 1986/1990.
Spaltenstein, F., L'invention chez Valérius Flaccus, 27-32 *in* Eigler, U., & E. Lefèvre, München 1998.
Stadler, H., *Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica VII, ein Kommentar*, Hildesheim, 1993 (= Spudasmata 49).
Steele, R.B., Interrelation of the Latin poets under Domitian, *Class. Phil.* 25 (1930) 329-342.
Steiniger, J. *Saecula te quoniam penes et digesta vetustas: die Musenanrufungen in der 'Thebais' des Statius.* Hermes 126 (1998) 221-237.
Strand, J.,*Notes on Valerius' Flaccus Argonautica* (=Studia graeca et latina gothoburgensia 31), Götaborg, 1972.
Stroh, H., *Studien zu Valerius Flaccus besonders über dessen Verhältnis zu Vergil.* Programm, Augsburg, 1905.
Summers, W.C., *A study of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus.*Cambridge, 1894.
Syme, R., The Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus, *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929) 129-137.

Taylor,P.R., The authority of the codex Carrionis in the Ms. tradition of Valerius Flaccus, *Cl.Q.* 39 (1989) 451-471.
Tränkle, H., *Die Sprachkunst der Properz und die Tradition der Lateinischen Dichtersprache*, Wiesbaden, 1960.

Vaalburg, B., *Imitatio, een onderzoek naar de initatio in de gevechtsepisoden van Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica VI*, unpublished student's thesis, 1983.
Vian, F., (AR), *Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques*, I-II, (Budé), Paris, 1974.
Vian, F., (AO), *Les Argonautiques orphiques* (Budé), Paris, 1987.

Wagner, J.A., *in* Lemaire, *Argonautica*, 1824 (with a commentary by J.A. Wagner and additional notes by J.J.A. Caussin de Perceval and editorial comments by N.E. Lemaire.
Wagner, Ph., Emendationes Valerianae, *Phil.* 20 (1863) 617-647.
Watson, P., Axelson revisited: the selection of vocabulary in Latin poetry, *Cl. Q.* 35 (1985) 430-448.
Watt, W.S., Notes on Latin epic poetry, *B.I.C.S.* 31 (1984) 153-170.
Weitz, J., *Collectanea, in* ed. J.Alardus, 1630.
Wetzel, S., *Die Gestalt der Medea bei Valerius Flaccus*, diss., Kiel, 1957.
Wijsman, H.J.W., *Valerius Flaccus Argonautica book V, a commentary*, Leiden, 1996.
Wijsman, H.J.W., Gesander alter Mezentius, *Mnemosyne, 53 (1) (2000) 58-70.*
Williams, G., *Change and decline, Roman literature in the early empire.* Berkeley 1978.
Williams, G., *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven, 1983.
Williams, R.D., *The Aeneid of Vergil I, II.* London, 1973.
Wills, J., *Repetition in Latin poetry*, Oxford, 1996.

# INDEXES

# INDEX OF PASSAGES

REFERENCES ARE TO LINE NUMBERS IN THE COMMENTARY

Passages have been considered relevant in cases where influence (borrowing, emulation) can be deduced, either in words or in theme, or where words have possibly been deliberately changed.


Aeschylus
*P.V.*
709 ff. 82
*Sept.*
489 345
*Coeph.*
433 651
*Ai.* 576 367

Apollonius Rhodius
*Argonautica*
1.730 ff. 55
1.1065 ff 566
2.1102 666
3.1 33
3.1292 435

Catullus
64.19 207
64.71 498
64.253 207
64.272 747
64.370 245

Claudianus
37.76 6
37.75 27

Homerus
*Il.*
1.156 220
2.1 ff. 1 ff.
2.700 f 689
2.781 f. 168
3.1 1
3.337 519
4.281 f. 111
4.402 383
4.472 183
6.470 519
7.245 367
8.488 752
9.1 1
9.383 118
10.5-10 1 ff.
10.335 379
11.256 340
13.130 183
14.216 472
14.217 474
14.222 477
15.1 1
16.390 383
16.433 624
16.443 627
16.776 553
17.53 711
17.236 1
17.390 358
17.393 359
17 392 360
17.394 361
17.723 369
18.26 553
18.35-50 565
20.418 555
20.460 ff. 551
22.3 1
22.71 ff. 313
22.181 627
23.310 248
*Od.*
3.300 327
6.2 1
19.1 1
20.1 1
22.1 1

Horatius
*Ep.*
2.208 150
*Carm.*
1.36.126 494
*S.*
1.1.36 622

Livius
7.10.10 553

Lucanus
1.4 403
1.6 404
1.3 409
1.40 177
1.238 92
1.498 ff. 410
2.552 344
3.179 86
3.197 84
3.294 1
4.491 200
5.177 f. 439
5.723 545
6.98 206
6.137 168
6.239 230
6.569 f. 14
6.619 337
6.657 f. 504
7.253 460
7.531 409
8.23 38
8.692 118
9.1 1
9.334 356
9.942 206
10.394 118

Lucretius
4.1223 528
1.475 576

Mela
1.12 68

Ovidius
*Met.*
1.144 339
1.390 458
1.565 296
1.583 565
3.45 40
3.187 258
3.647 f. 439
3.715 371, 439
4.1 1
4.479 477
4.652 458
4.692 128
5.392 492
6.293 509
6.707 494
7.21 f. 676
7.28 623
7.89 ff. 676
7.335 460
7.380 f. 565
7.523 399
7.778 687
8.112 371, 439
10.42 442
10.190 f. 492
10.212 492
12.188 115
12.238 f. 555
12.390 555
12.410 f. 492
13.2 367
14.821 f. 7
15.346 565
15.626 399
*Fast.*
1.573 435
2.211f 520
2.227 200
2.429 624
3.65 279
3.631 410
3.685 729
4.442 492
*Ep.*
9.155. 462
*Tr.*
4.10.77, 621
*Pont.*
1.2.80 100

Propertius
1.18.14 432
2.16.8 537

Seneca
*Med.*
22 676
*Her. F.*
1257 733
*Phaed.*
465 134.

Silius
2.290 355
2.358 739
3.225 86
3.262 114
3.277 83
3.284 563
3.287 103
3.298 88
3.338 88
3.354 88
4.293 553
4.294 168, 278

4.326 345
4.346 381
4.536 198
5.623 399
6.281 149
8.383 114
8.420 160
8.571 146
9.592 198
10.244 f. 573
12.309 668
12.385 399
12.617 494
13.532 624
14.207 256
14.316 666
15.489 260
15.497 279
15.649 29
16.419 6
16.622 399

Statius
*Theb.*
1.27 162
1.193 f. 364
1.438 186
1.538 288
1.601 399
2.102 14
2.309 439
2.385 524
2.585 86
2.676 614
3.1 1
3.63 584
4.96 465
4.560 185
4.666 576
5.326 206
5.438 526
5.546 584
6.223 518
6.601 504
6.607 278
6.616 189
7.46 622
7.271 86
7.276 97
7.278 88
7.310 367
7.330 114
7.340 103
7.354 88
7.566 344
7.589 684
7.657 701
7.675 322
7.682 511
7.710 606
7.712 105
7.715 643
7.729 727
7.738 652
7.744 383
7.764 733
7.814 749
8.125 198
8.521 206
9.94 666
9.255 f. 684
9.491 337
9.554 383
10.23 279
10.271 f. 230
10.603 287
10.911 627
11.266 435
11.449 17
11.478 29
12.656 168
*Silv.*
1.2.195 439

Valerius Flaccus
*Argonautica*
1.218 564
1.266 327
1.310 456
1.325 754
1.333 465
1.674 f. 676
2.278 317
2.291 399
2.591 458
3.133 1
3.249 386
3.325 497
3.371 459
3.613 281
3.710 298
4.458 733
4.755 321
5.3 317
5.127 34
5.170 301
5.225 621
5.261 19
5.262 18
5.273 60
5.297 ff. 1 ff.
5.289 432
5.376 439
5.400 650

5.533 458
5.548 733
5.606 36
6.103 317
6.108 617
6.180 312
6.215 316
6.256 740
6.270 740
6.295 330
6.305 308
6.306 308
6.305 309
6.309 305
6.313 647
6.367 349
6.371 439
6.432 459
6.516 34
6.545 298
6.615 439
6.647 313
6.699 698
6.708 698
7.179 497
7.320 678
7.355 477
7.388 488
7.425 432
7.464 349
7.571 435
7.594 414
7.634 698
8.446 301
8.449 518
8.453 549
8.459 518

Vergilius
*Ecl.*
4.52 103
7.12 f. 654
10.44 156
*G.*
1.13 278
1.244 40
1.245 40
1.292 224
1.318 177
2.101 f. 134
2.101 104
2.185 711
2.473 288
3.15 654
3.43 127
3.46 601
3.185 206
3.225 462
3.279 622
3.360 100
3.511 1
4.91 525
4.233f 565
4.493 292
4.502 159
4.511 260
*A.*
1.1 1
1.265 115
1.279 590
1.385 f. 469
1.412 745
1.443 650
1.453 576
1.457 10
1.474 265
1.566 739
1.531 711
1.661 438
1.717 ff. 657 ff.
1.718 668
2.2 457
2.87 66
2.95 344
2.257 205
2.299 206
2.359 228
2.343 207, 691
2.378 278
2.383 583
2.409 583
2.545 92
2.613 171
2.647 468
3.17 205
3.156 21
3.234 108
3.242 f. 520
3.273 325
3.374 568
3.473 327
3.498 656
3.528 466
3.711 497
4.22 580
4.73 687
4.75 61
4.88 383
4.105 467
4.142 182
4.173 10
4.247 278
4.277 679
4.262 526

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4.425 | 468 | 9.137 | 468 |
| 4.430 | 327 | 9.223 | 71 |
| 4.493 | 477 | 9.330 | 684 |
| 4.569 | 127 | 9.355 | 29 |
| 4.579 f. | 230 | 9.369 | 160 |
| 5.313 | 59 | 9.415 | 511 |
| 5.319 | 56 | 9.480 | 726 |
| 5.409 | 496 | 9.528 | 749 |
| 5.582 | 265 | 9.555 | 287 |
| 5.783 | 320 | 9.596 | 301 |
| 5.812 | 463 | 9.604 | 336 |
| 6.165 | 92 | 9.605 | 146 |
| 6.247 | 466 | 9.613 | 339 |
| 6.298 | 159 | 9.616 f. | 701 |
| 6.355 | 410 | 9.641 | 547 |
| 6.596 | 487 | 9.657 | 679 |
| 6.603 f. | 457 | 9.700 f. | 573 |
| 6.813 f. | 80 | 9.708 | 383 |
| 7.40 | 20 | 9.718 | 603 |
| 7.106 | 149 | 9.801 | 371 |
| 7.475 | 630 | 10.139 | 103 |
| 7.541 | 680 | 10.146 | 545, 576 |
| 7.550 | 156 | 10.152 ff. | 16 f. |
| 7.642 f. | 42 | 10.154 | 143 |
| 7.652 | 114 | 10.157 | 171 |
| 7.653 | 128 | 10.175 | 60 |
| 7.675 f. | 84 | 10. 185 f. | 134 |
| 7.681 | 524 | 10.185 | 103 |
| 7.688 | 97 | 10.194 | 497 |
| 7.698 | 94 | 10.205 | 564 |
| 7.741 | 83, 97 | 10.261 | 345 |
| 7.742 | 82 | 10.272 | 608 |
| 7.744 | 103 | 10.275 | 622 |
| 7.768 | 113 | 10.314 | 525 |
| 7.803 | 88 | 10.331 f. | 651 |
| 8.2 | 6, 28 | 10.335 | 292 |
| 8.3 | 6, 7 | 10.359 | 356 |
| 8.4 | 9, 30 | 10.361 | 183, 554 |
| 8.6 | 9 | 10.373 | 299 |
| 8.11 | 10 | 10.380 | 205, 207 |
| 8.12 | 12 | 10.426 | 323 |
| 8.13 | 15 | 10.467 | 628 |
| 8.52 | 143 | 10.470 | 627 |
| 8.219 | 1 | 10.485 | 97 |
| 8.220 | 378 | 10.501 | 491 |
| 8.314 | 93 | 10.511 | 370 |
| 8.318 | 146 | 10.530 | 590 |
| 8.394 | 467 | 10.537 | 99 |
| 8.448 | 349 | 10.540 | 569 |
| 8.554 | 10 | 10.541 | 235 |
| 8.589 | 527 | 10.544 | 60 |
| 8.676 | 487 | 10.578 | 270 |
| 8.686 | 344 | 10.609 | 61 |
| 9.13 | 127 | 10.645 | 251, 746 |
| 9.38 | 29 | 10.672 | 21 |
| 9.57 | 231 | 10.689 | 293 |
| 9.132 | 460 | 10.691 | 371 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 10.715 | 281 |
| 10.720 | 698 |
| 10.723 | 301 |
| 10.729 | 287 |
| 10.740 | 332 |
| 10.751 | 554 |
| 10.762 | 293 |
| 10.769 | 299 |
| 10.769 f. | 316 |
| 10.770 | 323 |
| 10.781 | 562 |
| 10.782 | 315 |
| 10.783 | 345 |
| 10.788 | 304 |
| 10.793 | 134 |
| 10.810 | 368 |
| 10.811 | 630 |
| 10.813 | 432 |
| 10.825 | 319 |
| 10.830 | 194, 281 |
| 10.850 | 307 |
| 10.877 | 207, 251, 265 |
| 10.881 | 630 |
| 10.887 | 53 |
| 10.885 | 347 |
| 10.887 | 349 |
| 10.889 | 322 |
| 10.891 | 271 |
| 10.893 | 42 |
| 10.896 | 370 |
| 10.903 | 305 |
| 11.28 | 190 |
| 11.42 | 319 |
| 11.48 | 298 |
| 11.63 | 215 |
| 11.76 | 629 |
| 11.124 | 10 |
| 11.291 | 128 |
| 11.368 | 10 |
| 11.451 | 9 |
| 11.461 | 198 |
| 11.474 | 92 |
| 11.486 | 477 |
| 11.557 | 502 |
| 11.612 f. | 270 |
| 11.613 ff. | 184 |
| 11.645 | 709 |
| 11.650 | 229 |
| 11.654 | 698 |
| 11.686 | 536 |
| 11.696 | 379 |
| 11.784 | 212, 341 |
| 11.858 ff. | 376 |
| 11.899 | 602 |
| 12.87 | 525 |
| 12.88 | 174 |
| 12.93 | 292 |
| 12.143 f. | 45 |
| 12.150 | 29 |
| 12.164 | 518 |
| 12.167 | 485 |
| 12.175 | 281 |
| 12.239 | 206 |
| 12.301 | 42 |
| 12.325 | 9 |
| 12.329 | 522 |
| 12.339 | 596 |
| 12.367 | 698 |
| 12.424 | 603 |
| 12.450 | 111, 631 |
| 12.466 f. | 577 |
| 12.497 | 602 |
| 12.500 f. | 184 |
| 12.542 | 721 |
| 12.608 | 10 |
| 12.823 | 93 |
| 12.881 | 213 |
| 12.925 | 367 |

# INDEX OF LATIN WORDS

References are to line numbers in the commentary


abire 654
abducere 298
abies 197, 236
acervus 523
acinace 701
aclys 99
acus 526
adducere 133, 271
adfatus 473
adigere 273
adire 166
adspiramen 465
adversus 256, 270
aethra 748
alipes 208
altrix 325
Martis amor 156, 691
amor caecus 454
annus 324
aperire 551
apodosis 626
Argous 115
arietare 368
armentum 204
assiduus 712
ast 95 197 333 503
astrifer 752
at 1
ater 415 522 708 745
ausim 625

bacchari 634
bella movere 535
bellator 559

cacumen 664
caecus amor 454
caelata 53
caeruleus 302
caesaries 227
captus corpore 51
carina misera 666
cassus 561
centumgeminus 118
chalybs 342
cingulum 471, 668
circa 173
Colchis 468
coma 664
comitare 524
comitem 213
componere 326
concentus 166
concitare 264
concurrere 177
confodere 41 429
congeminare 513
coniungere vires 732
conserere 182, 539, 353
conspicere 296
conus 603
credere dignum, si 51
cursus 253, 270 , 605
curvus 568

dare 59-62 272 347 445 500 515 557 597 601 670
debitus 593
derigere 541
descendere 244
deus 514
dicere 33 125 268 277 307 458 503 516 550 583 602
dira lues 399
discolor 525
discurrere 203
diversus 298 301 581
docilis 237
dura sors 624
durus 298 462 545 624 683

educare 712
egerere 185
ei mihi 624
saevus ensis 616
erilis 108 124 413 706
eripere 619
error 277
everberat 737
exanimis 346

ferentes 327
ferre 236 68 327 330 489 543 549 642
fervere 588
felix 598
fidens 260
lene flabrum 665
flamma 464 663
fragilis 146
frenator 162
frigidus 259, 278
fulmineum 230
fundere 391

gelidus 123, 85
gentes 519
gestamen 72 649 671
glaucus 296

hastatus 120
heu 678
honor 145 150
horrens 524
hortamen 94
haud 76
haurire 554
hispidus 533

ignis 454, 657
imago 514
imber 186, 611, 633, 685
immemor 241
immoriri 570
impellere 178
implicare 401 418 489 707
implorare 264
improbus 367, 681 702
incendit amor 207
incendia 739
incumbere 722
inexpletus 759
infelix 490
infesta arma 265
insons 131
inter 432
intonsus 643
invocation 514
involvere 412
ire in 375
iungere 143
iuventus 231
in latus 258

labos 352
lene flabrum 665
levis 240, 326, 376, 472, 524, 665, 672, 704
liqui 247
liquidus 709
lues dira 399
luxuriare 614

macte 547
maestus 73
magis atque magis 206
memoratrix 142
meta 310
nec minus 350
misera carina 666
molimen 34
monile 668
monstrificus 153
de more 640
movere bella 535
mutare 269, 443, 614
mutator 161

namque 123
notus 123, 656
nutare 169

obitus 184
obscurus 193
obvius 207
occumbere 126, 286, 309
opinus 548
optabilis 752
orbis 33, 246 , 239 , 345 367
orbita 442
oro 733
ovatus 187

parte alia 265
patrius 171
penna 421
per 32, 35
peragere 436
phalanx 758
plurimus 223
pollens 85
pone 253
populeus 296
portitor 159
post 135
praetentare 75
primus 83, 171, 376, 641
primaevus 570
proturbare 230
pugna 108, 617
pulsus 141

-que et 350
-que ... -que 210
quin 628

rapere 119, 190, 280, 318, 361, 364, 369, 389, 395, 408, 425, 581, 756
regina 657
rependere 4
resistere 757

saevus ensis 616
saucius 272
segnis 107 290
non segnius 107 290 n
semiferus 233
semidea 223
seminex 176
semivir 695
septemplex 367
sonipes 214
dura sors 624
spargere 133 193 229 427 441 584 614 656 698
specimen 58
squalere 397
struere pugnas 727
subducere 624
sublabi 556
subtegmen 227
sufferre 248
summisso 245
superesse 760

tacitus 262
tegmen 54, 234, 349, 702
temnere 124
tenere 348
tenor 141
tenuia 225
terga versa 726
thalamus 455
tiaras 700
non tulit 723
tumultus 757
turbo 279
umbra 260

utrimque 404

vadere 236
ver 153
viridis 50

# INDEX OF LATIN NAMES IN *ARGONAUTICA VI*

References are to line numbers in the commentary


Absyrtus 171, 517
Acastus 720
Acesinus 69
Aetaeus 217
Aeacides 347
Aeolia 352
Aeolius 542
Aesonius 579
Aeetis 481
Aeetius 267, 542
Alani 42
Alazon 100
Albani 44, 194
Amastrus 554
Ambenus 85, 251
Amores 457
Anausis 43 266
Anxur 68
Apres 638
Aquilonius 715
Aquites 295
Arabae 139
Argus 553
Ariasmenus 103, 387, 394, 423
Arimaspus 131
Arine 638
Armes 530
Atracius 447
Auchates 131
Auchus 60, 619

Balloniti 161
Barisas 557
Batarnae 96
Bisaltae 48
Byce 68

Caicus 688
Calais 557
Caresus 192
Caspiadae 107
Caspius 189
Centores 150
Ceramnus 550
Choatrae 150
Chremedon 194
Circaeus 426
Cimmerius 61
Cissaeae 130
Coastes 155
Coelaletae 80
Colaxes 48
Coralli 89
Crethides 609
Cytaeus 156, 426
Cyris 79
Cyrnus 297

Datis 65
Daraps 66, 572
Dandaridae 67
Dipsas 192
Discordia 401
Drangea 106, 507

Edoni 340
Emoda 143
Euarchus 102
Euryale 369
Eurytus 569
Exomatae 144, 569

Geloni 512
Gerus 67
Gesander 280 303 322 365 371
Gessithous 637
Getae 507
Gorgoneus 176

Haemonidae 371
Haemonius 18
Harpe 375
Hebrus 139, 618
Hecate 113, 495
Helix 570
Hiber 507
Hiberia 120 749
Heniochi 43
Hora 58
Hylaea 74
Hypanis 146, 252
Hypetaon 637
Hyrcanus 79
Iazyges 122, 281
Idas 342, 382

| | |
|---|---|
| Idasmenus | 196 |
| Indi | 117 |
| Iron | 201 |
| Issedoniae | 750 |
| | |
| Lagea | 118 |
| Latagus | 572 |
| Latris | 121 |
| Lucifer | 527 |
| Lycaeus | 533 |
| Lyce | 374 |
| | |
| Maeotis | 37, 565 |
| Medores | 211 |
| Medusa | 396 |
| Melas | 196 |
| Meleager | 719 |
| Monaesis | 651 |
| Menippe | 377 |
| Menoetius | 343 |
| Micelae | 129 |
| Moesus | 162 |
| Monaeses | 189 |
| Myrace | 50 |
| Myraces | 690 |
| | |
| Nestor | 569 |
| Neurus | 122 |
| Nova | 100 |
| Nyctelius | 757 |
| | |
| Ocheus | 200 |
| Oebasus | 245 |
| Oenides | 343 |
| Olbus | 638 |
| Oncheus | 256 |
| Ophiusa | 85 |
| Otaces | 121 |
| Otaxes | 529 |
| Otreus | 251 |
| | |
| Pan | 531 ff. |
| Panchaia | 119 |
| Parthi | 698 |
| Peucon | 564 |
| Phalces | 88, 245, 554 |
| Thydrus Phasiades | 639 |
| Phryxus | 70 |
| Prion | 619 |
| | |
| Radalus | 69 |
| Rambelus | 529 |
| Rhipaeus | 33 |
| Rhyndacus | 220 |
| Ripheus | 558 |
| Sabaeus | 709 |
| Sarmata | 162 |
| Satarchae | 145 |
| Sibotes | 249 |
| Sidon | 69 |
| Sidonicae | 95 |
| Sindi | 86 |
| Sirenes | 74, 703 |
| Strymon | 192 |
| Styrus | 266 |
| Suetes | 550 |
| | |
| Talaus | 720 |
| Taras | 102 |
| Tartareus | 435 |
| Tages | 223 |
| Taulas | 220 |
| Taxes | 252 |
| Telamon | 345 |
| Thoe | 375 |
| Thybris | 406 |
| Thydrus Phasiades | 639 |
| Thyrsagetes | 135 |
| Tibisenus | 50 |
| Tisiphone | 179 |
| Tyndarides | 207 |
| Tyra | 84 |
| Tyres | 201 |
| | |
| Umber | 420 |
| | |
| Vanus | 115 |
| Voraptes | 288 |
| | |
| Zacorus | 554 |
| Zetes | 572 |

# INDEX OF SUBJECTS


ablative absolute without a nominal component 455
alliteration 1, 9, 28, 61 f., 67, 236 f., 415, 505/6, 543, 545, 683, 704,
  id., sensu Ceccarelli 517
allusion
  recombination of epithets 454, 706
  conscious modification of the model 665
apostrophe 103, 317, 688.
apposition, separation of words in 100, 430

brevitas 310
bucolic diaeresis (Nicolay) 364

catalogue 42
chariot with scythe blades 105, 387, 426
chiasmus 416

dative of direction 84, 410

elision of a long syllable 23
elliptic clauses 675, 741,
enallage 125, 142, 149, 186, 262, 455, 465, 522, 527, 694, 697/8, 706

-fer, words ending in, 138

genitive, archaic - on -um, 49
-ger, words ending in, 393
golden lines 1

Hecate 113, 495 ff.
hendiadys 22 147 231 263 449 480 532 742
Homer, influence of see Introduction

Jason, genealogy of 542, 609

lilies 492
line composition
  line framed by attribute and substantive, as in 155, 402, 479, 512, 517, 746
  monosyllabic line-ending 25, 84, 163, 236, 343, 537
  musicality of the lines 715
  lengthened syllable 152, 571
  versus leoninus 44, 45, 136

Lucan, influence of see Introduction

Mars, retinue 179
madness induced by drinking water 67
Maenads 755, 757
Mela, influence of see Introduction, 68 126 131 135 148
Metonymy 118, 401, 703,
  abstract for concrete and vice versa 523 (gemitus), 526 (acus), 617 (pugna)
  animal for the hide 703
motifs and themes
  see section V
Muse, invocation of the 33-41 , 515 f.

nomina agentis 142, 161, 162
numerical allusion 558

-o, scansion of words in 14, 347, 450
oriental finery 699, 708
oro with imperative 305
  with subjunctive 733
Ovid, influence of see Introduction
oxymoron 233, 435, 470, 492, 663, 747

passive, functional 610, 663, 667
Pliny, common source 86, 67, 107, 121, 148, 153
poplars 296
possessive pronoun 609
postposition 25, 88, 140, 2,16, 377, 452, 546, 641, 653

ring composition see Introduction

Sedulius 752
Sidonius Apollinaris, common source 144, 161
Silius, influence on, see Appendix
similes see Introduction
spondee in first foot 5, 14, 415
Statius, priority over 383, 465, 622, 652, 655, 664, 666, 702 724 727 749
  influence on, see Appendix
subject, change 610 697/8 713

teichoscopy 575-601, 657-689,
tmesis 195

-um, genitive in 171
Vergil, influence of see Introduction

zeugma 350, 692, 742

# INDEX OF MOTIFS AND THEMES


aegis of Pallas 73 f., 396-401
ancestors, praise of - 94
animals see birds, deer, dogs, horse, lion, tiger
Argo weeping 317-318
armour, golden gleams 27
Amazons, war against 370-380

battlements, maiden watching her hero fighting from the - 681 f.
Bears, Great and Lesser (constellations) 40
birds, noise of soldiers as of - 165
brothers' horses 203/218

castaways 410-412
catalogue 42
cattle thief 529-541
Caucasus, Jason compared to 612
civil war, Roman legions in - 402/409
cloud, gods residing upon a 208 f.
comets of Fate 608
corpse, contest for a - 362-370
 shielding a dead body 345 f.
credere dignum, si 51

death, foreknowledge of a man in the hour of - 274
death, manner of:
 killing x this way, y that way 551 f.
 destroyed by own arms 424-426
 scythe-bearing chariots, battle of 105, 386-395
 spear misses x, kills y 651
 author of - unknown 199-202
 ending a father's life to avoid old age 123/8, 279-385
 effeminate orientals killed 690-724
deer with entangled antlers 420-422
 prophetic hind 70
Deluge 390-393
dogs buried together with their master 109 f.
 - mail-clad 111
 - of Hecate 113

effeminate orientals killed 690-724
ethnography 80, 85, 94, 122, 131 ,145, 322-339
eye, wounds in the - 246 f.

fall of a hero like a siege-engine 383-385
Fate, external brilliance does not avert - 225-257
 comets of - 608
father and son 279-385
 ending a -'s life to avoid old age 123/8, 279-385

gods, complaints against the - 725-736
 - revolting against the supreme being 624-627
 goddess assuming the appearance of humans 479
gold unknown 131
grey-beard, supplication of a - 304-307

hair, dedicated in vain 642-643
 white lock from birth 61 f.
Hecate , care for her faithful servant 495-503
helmet filling with tears 738
hind, prophetic white 70
horses, brothers' 203-218
 mail-clad - 233 f.
 pirouettes of - 239 f.
Hylaean woods 74-78

invocation of the Muse 33-41, 515 f.

Juno visiting Venus 427-506
Juno assuming the appearance of Chalciope 479
Jupiter, death of a son of 621-656
Jupiter at Phlegra 167-170
lance casting a shadow 235 f.
legio fulminata 55 f.
lilies, compared to innocent maiden 492-494
lion's (tiger's) cubs 148 f., 346 f.
lion invading a cattle pen 613 f.

magic 155 ff., 440 ff.
Mars shouting 28-32
 - as the antagonist of Pallas 173-181
 retinue of 179
mercenary 557-562
mother's needlework spoilt, a 224
mountain, Jason as a - 612
 separation by so many -s and sea 220 f.
Muse, invocation of the - 33-41, 515 f.

necklace with gems 57-59
night brings the battle to an end 752-754
nocturnal vigil 1-5
nomads living in tents 81 f.
nymph, son of a - 223 f.

old age, ending a father's life to avoid - 123/8, 279-385
orientals, effeminate - killed 690-724

Pallas, aegis of - 73 f., 396-401
- as the antagonist of Mars 173-181
peace, breaking - 6-13, 26-32
Phlegra, Jupiter at 167-170
prophet, sacred 114

river,
a god begetting a son near the mouth of a - 50
priest of a - 294-298, 640-643
son of a - nymph 563-568
-, frozen 100 f. , 328 f.
rumours, giant 10
rustic cattle thief 529-541

scythe-bearing chariots, battle of 105, 386-395
separation by so many mountains and sea 220 f.
shields of bark 97
shielding a dead body 345 f.
ship weeping 317-318
siege-engine, fall of a hero like a 383-385
simile
lime-twig - 260-264,
olive tree - 711-726
Sirius - 606 f.
lilies, compared to innocent maiden 492-494
son-in-law, assistance by future - 172, 265-9
suitor, disappointed 43

tents, nomads living in - 81 f.
tiger's (lion's) cubs 148 f.
thunderbolts on a badge 53 f.

Venus, Juno asking - for a love-charm 427-506

war - without end 38 f.
trumpets of - 28
sudden - 28 f.
water rendering mad 67
wife, young- left behind 688 f.
winds, contest of - 163 f., 353-356
mild rustling announcing a storm 664-666
witchcraft 152-159, 441-448
wheels over dead bodies 195, 414, 522 f.
wounds in the eye 246 f.
thousand mouths topos 37